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ABSTRACT

This case study presents findings from a year-long ethnographic study of the female principal of a secondary school in an innercity setting. It concludes one of seven studies conducted in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings to investigate the instructional management role of principals. Data collection involved principal observation and interviews with students, teachers, and principals. The school was characterized by a predominantly black student population, student violence, poor academic achievement, and lack of community support. Most of the principal's activities revolved around communicating the school's work structure, creating safety and order, and improving student and staff relations. However, although she effectively changed the school climate, student learning did not significantly improve. Six figures are included. Contains 64 references. (LMI)

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ED 373 398

Understanding the Principal's Contribution to Instruction: Seven Principals, Seven Stories

Case #6: Florence Barnhart, Principal of an Inner-City Junior High School

David C. Dwyer
Ginny V. Lee
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Nikola N. Filby
Brian Rowan

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UNDERSTANDING THE PRINCIPAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO INSTRUCTION:
SEVEN PRINCIPALS, SEVEN STORIES

Case #6:

Florence Barnhart,

Principal of an Inner-City Junior High School

David C. Dwyer
Ginny V. Lee
Bruce G. Barnett
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ABSTRACT

This case study presents the findings from a yearlong, ethnographic study of a principal of a secondary school in an inner-city setting. It concludes one of a series of studies in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings undertaken to investigate the instructional management role of principals.

Although previous research has offered disparate views about the potency of principals as instructional leaders and managers, this series of studies has found that principals can significantly alter the instructional systems of their schools and thereby affect the social and academic experiences of students.

Through hundreds of hours of observation of principals' activities and through interviews with students, teachers, and principals about the antecedents and consequences of principals' activities, we have construed principals' seemingly chaotic behavior as purposive action. In our analysis of principals' routine actions, patterns emerge that reveal the importance of these actions in creating and maintaining instructional climates and organizations that can respond to an array of contextual factors.

FOREWORD

> In the past decade public educators have had to learn how to cope with three kinds of scarcity: pupils, money, and public confidence. Of the three shortages perhaps the most unsettling has been the decline in confidence in a profession that for so long had millennial aspirations of service to the nation. (Tyack & Hansot, 1984, p. 33)

Those of us who care about and watch our schools cannot help but notice that the buildings and the students have changed. We need only listen to the experiences that our children report nightly around the dinner table in order to conclude, not always happily, that things are different today. The media report violence in the schools, poor student achievement, and disappointing facts about the preparation and performance of teachers. And recently, a panel of educational leaders, appointed in 1981 by Secretary of Education Bell, concluded that our schools have deteriorated to such an extent that "our nation is at risk" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

Into this troubled arena--into its very center--the school principal has been thrust by those who have studied "effective" schools (e.g., Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971; Wynne, 1981). These researchers have successfully resurrected an old maxim: effective principal, effective school. Some proponents of this work have been very explicit about their faith in the capacity of the school principal. One supporter has asserted that:

> One of the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools is strong administrative leadership, without which the disparate elements of good schooling can neither be brought together nor kept together. (Edmonds, 1979, p. 32)

Thus, school principals find themselves in the spotlight, expected to shoulder successfully the awesome responsibility of school reform.

Is this a fair expectation? While the effective-school researchers have stressed the importance of the principal in the process of school improvement, other investigators have argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with the improvement of instruction (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979). Similarly, our own reviews of the effective-schools research have recommended caution about its conclusions (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983). And at the very time that these scholars are proclaiming the potency of the principal as an instructional leader, principals themselves report decreases in their power and autonomy as school leaders. School administrators claim to make fewer decisions regarding instruction at the building level and they express feelings of isolation (Goldhammer, 1971). And as the theoretical debate continues, principals are being held accountable for students' academic performance and achievement scores. In some instances, parent groups are demanding the removal of principals who lead schools where children perform below expectations on standardized achievement tests.

The Instructional Management Program of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development was created to examine critically the role of the principal in the development and execution of successful instructional programs. We began our work by questioning the common assertions of the effective-schools research. For example, as a basic query, we asked: _If_ successful principals are those who create schools where the climate is safe and orderly, where basic skills are emphasized, where teachers hold high expectations for their students, and where instructional programs are tied closely to carefully monitored objectives, _what do principals do_ to institute and maintain those conditions?

We began our effort to address this question with a careful review of an array of educational and organizational literatures. Subsequently, we suggested a theoretical model that related individual and contextual variables to the behavior of principals, and we speculated about how those behaviors might influence the instructional organization and social climate of a school and, in turn, affect student outcomes (see Bossert et al., 1982).

Guided by our theoretical conception, we then spoke with 32 principals from the San Francisco Bay Area about their work. These long, open-ended interviews produced a wealth of information about the principals' own perceptions of how their behavior as instructional leaders or managers was influenced by their communities, districts, and personal histories. These men and women described their schools' climates and instructional organizations and discussed their efforts to shape the form and the content of instruction and to color the ambience of their schools. From these preliminary forays into the worlds of school administrators, we received a very strong impression: Principals work under diverse conditions and pressures, and they pursue solutions that affect instruction and student achievement in many different ways.

For us, the public's demand for the improvement of schools and instruction, the ongoing argument about the principal's role, and the promise we saw in the principals' own views about their activities merited an intensive effort to work with principals in their schools. As collaborators, we wanted to gain a realistic understanding of their role and of the limits of their responsibility in attaining more effective schools.

Probing the Workaday World of Principals

As a first step in achieving such an understanding, we invited five of the 32 principals whom we had interviewed to join us in an eight-week pilot study. Our purpose was to observe principals in action, validating their spoken stories on the one hand and gaining direct knowledge of their activities on the other. The five principals represented Blacks and Whites of both sexes from schools with diverse student populations, differing socioeconomic contexts, and varied approaches to instructional management. As we studied these principals, we were able to field-test our primary data-gathering procedures--the shadow and the reflective interview--which were to allow us access to the personal meanings that principals attached to their actions (the design and results of this pilot study are fully discussed in Five Principals in Action: Perspectives on Instructional Management, Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). Our intent during this phase of our program's work was to listen to how principals described both their role in instruction and the conditions and events shaping that role.

After the pilot phase, we contacted 12 more principals, this time selected from urban, suburban, and rural schools, to help us extend our understanding of instructional leadership and management through a yearlong study of their activities. These individuals had all been nominated as successful principals by their superiors. They varied by gender, age, ethnicity, and experience. Their schools ran the gamut from rural to urban, small to large, poor to rich, traditional to innovative. For hundreds of hours we watched the activities of these principals, looking for the consequences of their actions for teachers and students throughout their schools. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a thorough treatment of participant selection, data-gathering procedures, and analysis of data).

A Potent Role in Instructional Management

As we watched our experienced principals perform their daily activities, we also witnessed the uncertain environments with which they coped. We saw that the decreases in the number of students, financial resources, and public confidence to which Tyack and Hansot refer did have an effect on schools. In addition, we documented demographic shifts that moved students in and out of schools at alarming rates; court actions that had administrators, board members, and teachers looking over their shoulders; and a changing political climate that affected the very conception of what schooling might be. All of these were significant factors in the schools in which we worked. The reality is that educators work in shifting environments that are difficult to predict. Further, there is no reason to believe that the conditions contributing to this uncertainty will disappear.

Against this backdrop, the importance of the principal's role and the limitations principals face became apparent. Figure 1 (see page v) illustrates the principal's key position, bridging context and school, policy and program, means and ends. The principal's importance emerges from that position. He or she has the greatest access to the wishes and needs of district leaders, parents and community members, school staff, and students. With experience and training, he or she has the best opportunity to formulate an image of schooling that is relevant and responsive to those groups and to begin to bring that image into being. We believe that this is exactly what our principals were about: Through routine activities they attempted to bring to life their overarching visions, while at the same time monitoring their systems to keep these visions relevant.

Our principals demonstrated their abilities to tap the wishes and resources of their communities and districts. We observed their capacities to be sensitive to the needs of their students and staffs. But what we found most impressive was their ability to create and sustain an image of what quality schooling might be. Through all of the uncertainty and conflict that characterized their environments, these principals worked to instill their visions in their staffs and patrons, defining a mission in which all might participate. We believe that this may be their most potent role.

Seven Principals, Seven Stories

From our yearlong study of the activities of principals in their schools, we have prepared seven case studies. Each study portrays how the principal is influenced by his or her context. Each study also describes how the principal set about improving or maintaining the instructional program in his or her school. Together, the studies demonstrate the complexities and subtleties of the principal's role. This series contains the stories of:

1. Emma Winston, Principal of an Inner-City Elementary School;
2. Frances Hedges, Principal of an Urban Elementary School;
3. Ray Murdock, Principal of a Rural Elementary School;

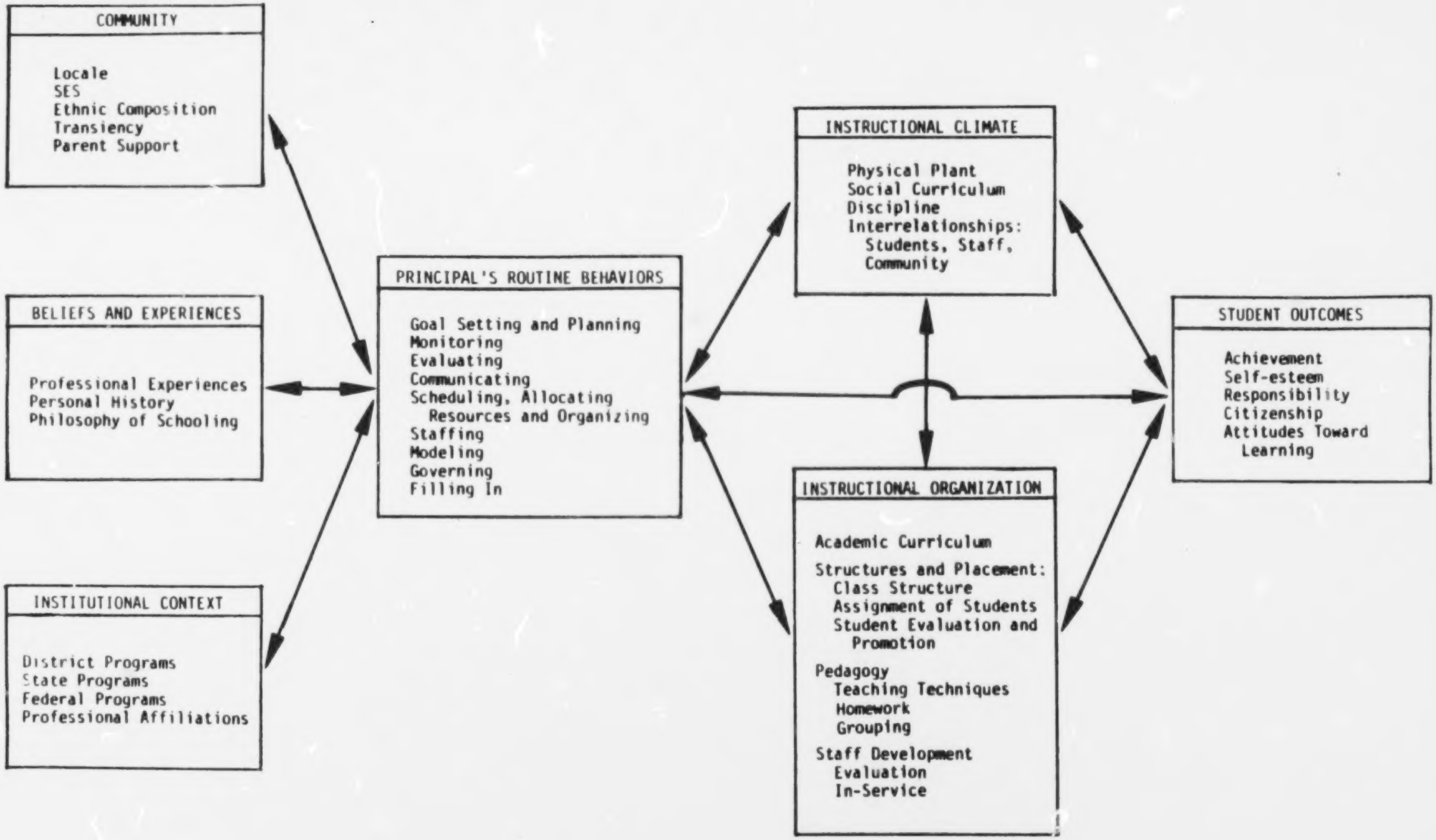
COMMUNITY
Locale
SES
Ethnic Composition
Transiency
Parent Support
BELIEFS AND EXPERIENCES
Professional Experiences
Personal History
Philosophy of Schooling
INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT
District Programs
State Programs
Federal Programs
Professional Affiliations
PRINCIPAL'S ROUTINE BEHAVIORS
Goal Setting and Planning
Monitoring
Evaluating
Communicating
Scheduling, Allocating Resources and Organizing
Staffing
Modeling
Governing
Filling In
INSTRUCTIONAL CLIMATE
Physical Plant
Social Curriculum
Discipline
Interrelationships: Students, Staff, Community
INSTRUCTIONAL ORGANIZATION
Academic Curriculum
Structures and Placement:
Class Structure
Assignment of Students
Student Evaluation and Promotion
Pedagogy
Teaching Techniques
Homework
Grouping
Staff Development
Evaluation
In-Service
STUDENT OUTCOMES
Achievement
Self-esteem
Responsibility
Citizenship
Attitudes Toward Learning

Figure 1: The Principal's Role in Instructional Management

Principals can understand and influence the varied elements of their organizations through the performance of routine activities. Their success hinges on their ability to connect their actions to an overarching perspective of their school settings and their aspirations for students.

4. Grace Lancaster, Principal of an Urban Junior High School;
5. Jonathan Rolf, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School;
6. Florence Barnhart, Principal of an Inner-City Junior High School;
7. Louis Wilkens, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School.

These principals were chosen because of their outstanding reputations and their willingness and their staffs' willingness to work for a year under the close scrutiny of our field workers. We were able to learn about instructional leadership and management from each of them, although their contributions to instruction differed markedly. Some were directly involved with setting the conditions _of_ instruction--that is, working with their staffs to define and coordinate the what, when, where, and how of instruction. The contributions of others were more circuitous or behind the scenes. From those principals, we were able to understand better how some principals can set the conditions _for_ instruction, providing school environments that are supportive of teachers' work and students' learning.

It is important to note, however, that none of these principals is a superhero. Each man and woman made significant contributions in the context of his or her own school, but each carried the foibles and idiosyncrasies that in some form burden us all. Each struggled with the day-to-day realities of his or her own limitations--personal and contextual. The stories will elicit strong feelings within their readers about the relative merit of these principals' actions. Readers will compare one principal to another and, more importantly, to themselves. And therein lies the relevance of these studies.

These cases are not presented as models for others to emulate; on the contrary, they are intended to stimulate personal reflection and to illustrate several lessons that we learned from the hundreds of hours we spent with these men and women and from our own comparisons of their work:

1. **Successful principals act with purpose.** They have an image in mind of the "good" school and of a way to make their school more like that image. They use this overarching perspective as a guide for their actions.

2. **Successful principals have a multi-faceted image of schools.** They recognize that schools comprise many interrelated social and technical elements--from community concerns and district mandates to student/staff relations and instructional strategies. Successful principals stand at the vortex of these

sometimes competing elements, balancing and guiding their organizations toward their goals.

3. **Successful principals use routine behaviors to progress incrementally toward their goals.** Principals are busy people doing many things simultaneously. They design their routines to achieve their purposes. They work smarter, not harder.

4. **The IMP Framework, as it has evolved through the field work, illustrates these conclusions about successful principals.** This framework, shown in Figure 1, provides a useful heuristic device to help people understand the role of the principal.

5. **All principals engage in the same kinds of behavior.** The verbs listed in the "routine behaviors" box of Figure 1 were common to all the principals studied. Furthermore, these routine behaviors were used with similar frequency. Communication accounted for the largest proportion of each principal's actions.

6. **The form and function of principals' routine behaviors varies to suit their contexts and purposes.** Despite the similarity in the categories and frequency of principals' routine behaviors, the variation in their actions becomes apparent when principals are observed at work in their schools. The case studies illustrate this principle in detail, leading to the premise that there is no single image or simple formula for successful instructional leadership.

We believe that researchers, practicing principals, and educators planning futures in school administration will find these volumes provocative.

Although the cases portray seven unique stories, we have chosen to structure them along parallel lines to encourage readers to compare and contrast contextual antecedents, principals' actions, and consequences across them. Each will begin with an orientation to the setting, which describes the school, community, patrons, school staff, and principal. The introduction concludes with a narrative of a day in the life of the principal, enlivening the descriptive information about the school by illustrating how the principal deals with typical situations in his/her setting.

The second section of each study begins by delineating the social and academic goals held by the principal and staff in the school, then describes the elements of the instructional climate and instructional organization that have been created to accomplish those goals. Throughout this section, the role of the principal is underscored by the words of teachers and students from the setting, by the principal's own words, and by the observations of the field researcher assigned to the school.

The final section of each study analyzes the principal's activities, drawing information from the descriptive sections to build and support models that explain the direct and indirect strategies and actions employed by the principals to affect instruction in their schools.

One last note: We are aware of the long-standing debate about whether principals are best described as middle-level managers, coordinating people, materials, and time to meet their institutions' goals, or whether principals are best construed as leaders, wearing the lenses of their own experiences and values, sharing their visions of means and ends, and enlisting support to accomplish their goals. From our experiences with principals, we do not feel that the leader/manager distinction helps us better understand their work. We saw our principals act sometimes like leaders, sometimes like managers; many times, however, we could attribute either role to their actions. Reflecting the overlapping nature of these role distinctions in the day-to-day actions of principals, we use the words interchangeably throughout these studies.

Acknowledgements

There is a multitude of people to thank for their contributions to this extensive study. The principals, staffs, and students who freely gave their energy, graciously tolerated our presence, and patiently answered our questions over the period of a school year are first and foremost on this list. Our agreement to protect their anonymity, however, prevents us from listing these important contributors by name (all proper names used in the case studies are fictional). It is self-evident that the project would not have been possible without their goodwill and their sense of responsibility to our efforts.

Next, 11 research interns in three states spent over 1,500 hours in these schools. They trained and prepared for each phase of data-gathering, relentlessly applied each procedure, and performed the necessary and painstaking documentation procedures after each of their school visits and observations. All of the interns were graduate students who had to weave our program's research activities into their already crowded personal agendas. Alphabetically, they were: Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Steven Foster, Susan Goodwin, Albert Kuipers, Patricia Kunke, Maralee Mayberry, Barbara McEvoy, Gail Mladejovesky, Susana Munzell, Sherri Schulke, and John Wilson. The twelfth field researcher was Ginny Lee, a research associate of the Instructional Management Program, who wore multiple hats throughout the project, including site coordinator, writer/editor, and planning and training assistant.

An extremely competent secretarial staff, which included Sharon Hansen, Peter Grace, Ann Wallgren, Carrie Kojimoto, and Claudia Long, monitored and filed data, made sure that interns kept up with the necessary bureaucratic work, and transcribed--

painfully--a seemingly endless stream of interviews. The program would have floundered early on without their consistent support.

As the project's field phase was completed, several staff members took on new roles and additional staff joined the program to assist with the development of the computerized data base, analysis, writing, and/or final document preparation. Christine Baker, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry read and re-read hundreds of pages of data, assisted in the development of our tagging scheme, and entered text data into the computer system implemented by Patricia Terry. Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry made invaluable contributions in the preliminary phases of the writing of the case studies. In the last critical phase, Jean Barker and Kenneth Warren wrote final copy and oversaw production of the eight-volume set.

My colleagues, Bruce Barnett, Steven Bossert, Nikola Filby, Ginny Lee, and Brian Rowan each contributed their expertise to the design and implementation of these studies. They, in conjunction with Carrie Kojimoto, assumed major analytical and writing tasks as our ambitions to fully utilize the rich data set grew and grew.

Lastly, the National Institute of Education funded this study during an era of tight resources, supported the program's efforts throughout, and helped create the visibility and professional networks that will ensure the use of this project's findings. Michael Cohen and Marianne Amarel were the project's monitors, and we especially thank them for understanding the utility of this kind of in-depth study and for supporting the project during every phase of its development.

David C. Dwyer
Project Director

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SETTING AND ITS ACTORS

An Overview

The first section of this study attempts to give the reader a general impression of Kirkland Junior High School and its context. We believe that this narrative introduction is necessary if the reader is to understand fully the description and analysis of the instructional system presented in the subsequent section of the study. The introduction itself begins with an account of the physical characteristics of the school and the surrounding community. This account is followed by a description of the school's parents and students. Next, the general characteristics of the school's teachers are delineated. The focus then turns to the school's principal, telling in brief her history, her educational philosophy, and her thoughts about the role of a principal. Having shaded in these broader contours, we subsequently take the reader through a day in the life of the principal, recounting in as much detail as possible what she encountered during a typical day at school.

The School and Its Context

Centered in one of the poorer neighborhoods of the industrial city of Everett was Kirkland Junior High School, one of 12 intermediate schools in this urban district, which enrolled over 40,000 students. Kirkland's buildings and grounds covered an entire city block that was surrounded by signs of neglect. Opposite the school on one side was a small private hospital that showed few remains of the better days it had once enjoyed; its grounds were littered with fallen branches and debris that had collected over the summer months. On another corner, the upheaved pavement of an abandoned tennis court suggested that it had not been used for some time (FN, 9/15/82, p. 1).* The sidewalk that ran in front of the modest dwellings across the street from the school was also twisted and broken, patches of dirt exposed between its badly cracked slabs. On an adjacent block, one of Everett's older graveyards, overgrown and generally uncared for, added a note of gloom to the neighborhood. A vacant lot adjoined the school on another side; the garbage that had been dumped there now spilled out onto the sidewalk from torn plastic bags (FN, 9/13/82, p. 1).

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*Throughout these sections, the reader will encounter parenthetic notations describing the type of data cited, the date of collection, and the page number of the record from which the quotation was taken. The abbreviations used to identify the data types are: FN for field notes; SO for summary observations; TI

Within these bleak surroundings stood Kirkland, both a part of its neighborhood and a contrast to it. A chain link fence separated the school site from the city streets. Half of Kirkland's grounds was covered with buildings; the other half was paved with asphalt. The flat surface of the blacktop, painted with track and field markings and numbers used for taking roll, was interrupted only by basketball standards. At the front entrance of the school's two-story main building was an empty planter box; a hole in its sun-baked earth provided the sole indication that it had once held some form of plant life. Yet despite this bleakness, the buildings' pastel green paint looked fresh and clean, and the facility projected an orderly, if institutional, appearance (FN, 9/15/82, p. 1).

Because all gates were kept locked during school hours to discourage unwanted youths from entering, visitors were obliged to use an unmarked doorway at the end of the main building. This doorway gave access to a wide corridor nearly 100 yards long, its tiled walls lined with student lockers. A few bulletin boards were carefully arranged in block designs; posters and displays were interspersed between formal memos and school announcements (FN, 9/15/82, p. 2).

Immediately inside the entrance on the right side of the corridor was a series of administrative offices, linked by an interior passage for the convenience of staff. First in the series was the attendance office, shared by the counselors and assistant principals. Next came the main office, where the functional arrangement of chairs, desks, and file cabinets was complemented by neatly arranged bulletin boards containing announcements for staff. A prominently displayed poster on the board listed behavior rules to remind students about the school's expectations for their conduct. Adjoining the main office was the principal's suite, consisting of an office and conference room. And on the opposite side of the corridor were the nurse's office, storage rooms for curriculum materials and supplies, a workroom, and a teachers' lounge.

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for tape-recorded interviews; I for interviews that were not transcribed verbatim; IOI for Instructional Organization Instrument; SDI for School Description Instrument; SFI for School Features Inventory; and Doc. for documents that were produced within the broad instructional system in which each school was embedded. (For further explanation of these varied data, see the companion volume, Methodology.) For example, a quotation taken from an interview on October 8, 1982 would be followed by: (TI, 10/8/82, p. 34).

Beyond the administrative area were classrooms, another faculty lounge, and rest rooms, all opening in succession onto the main corridor. Wide stairwells rose from the first floor to the second floor of the building, where doorway after doorway punctuated the long hall. The second story was composed of classrooms, the school's library, and a textbook storage room.

Just outside the main building, eight "portable" classrooms had been parked to accommodate Kirkland's burgeoning student population. The school had originally been designed for 600 students, but over the past several years Kirkland's student body had grown to nearly 800. To the left of the "portables" stood a group of ancillary buildings. One contained industrial arts classes. Two gymnasiums and a snack bar were situated in front of the industrial arts annex; between the gyms and the main building were tucked a strip of grass and a few small sycamore trees. The fourth side of the "square" of buildings was completed by the student cafeteria/auditorium and faculty lunchroom, which were connected to the front entrance of the main building by a covered walkway.

When Principal Florence Barnhart first arrived at Kirkland two years before, the school, like many in inner-city areas, had been plagued by student disruptions, poor attendance, low staff morale, and lack of parent support. Barnhart said that she called the superintendent after her first day to say that she did not want the job because there was "too much work that had to be done" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 5). As she described it:

> There were fights like every minute of the day. There was a lot of division among staff members. Key people within the school didn't have control. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 5)

Barnhart's first priority, as she saw it, was "to get this school under control and some discipline established within the school" (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 4-5).

Now, two years later, Barnhart believed that Kirkland's reputation in the district and the community had improved. She noted that parent attendance at grade orientation meetings at the start of this school year had reached standing room only capacity, which she regarded as an indication that parents "feel good about the school. . . . They have seen the changes. They hear it from others and they are willing to send their child here" (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 6-7). She added that she was also excited about beginning her third year because "several of the teachers have said that they feel good about the year and good about the staff meeting the other day" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 7).

Besides the changes in parent support and staff morale, Barnhart described improved relations with businesses in the community, which were once reluctant to become involved in any of the school's programs. For example, she contacted a business located across the street from the school and offered to help them handle students who tended to gather there; in return, the business donated refreshments for a school function, commenting that no one from the school had ever approached them in that way. "Now," the principal said, "I make it a point to go over there periodically and ask if the kids are bothering them" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 9). Other business involvement was described by the principal. The local telephone company had "adopted" Kirkland and donated funds for the establishment of the school's computer laboratory (TI, 9/10/82, p. 9). Additional support for the school came from the Everett Police Department and the district's security force, both of which responded readily to any problems Kirkland faced from outsiders walking into the building (TI, 9/10/82, p. 9). These developments led Barnhart to conclude that relations between Kirkland and the community it served had been considerably improved.

Kirkland's Students and Parents

Students at Kirkland were very aware of adult authority and supervision. Our observer, as he walked around the campus, was often aware of one or more students scanning the grounds to see if they were being observed by adults who might challenge them. One student, for example, removed his cap inside the building while sheepishly looking at the observer over his shoulder (SO, 9/23/82, p. 2). A campus supervisor said that Kirkland's students were primarily concerned with trying to find ways to get around the rules and regulations, constantly "testing" to determine what they could get away with (FN, 9/23/82, p. 2).

Like other youngsters this age, students at Kirkland were physically active. During recess, three-man basketball games were quickly organized in the gym, with players evenly matched by height and skill. Outside on the blacktop, girls played double-dutch jump rope, waiting patiently for their turns; many had worked out special routines to demonstrate their talents. Around the snack bar and on the stairs to the cafeteria, students talked, danced, and listened to music with their portable radios turned up high (FN, 9/24/82, p. 10).

Sometimes, Kirkland's students acted out aggressive poses with each other, pretending to fight (FN, 9/24/82, p. 11). At other times, students did actually fight. This had been especially true in previous years. One of the assistant principals reported that there had been gangs at the school when he arrived, and that disputes between students had often escalated to include relatives and friends from outside the school (I, 10/15/82, p. 1). Such happenings had been curtailed by locking the campus to outsiders and enforcing stringent discipline practices within. Nevertheless, outsiders still appeared occasionally within Kirkland and caused disruptions (FN, 9/13/82, p. 12).

For the most part, however, the environment at Kirkland was considered by staff and students to have been vastly improved. Principal Barnhart described the effect on students:

> The day is over for students saying, "I don't want to go to Kirkland anymore." (TI, 9/10/82, p. 9)

The student population at the school had increased by over 200 over the two years before this study and now stood at close to 800. Barnhart believed that Kirkland had reached a maximum capacity beyond which order and safety would be jeopardized (FN, 9/13/82, p. 5).

Although some of the school's students lived in homes in the more comfortable "hill" section of Everett, most of them lived in the poorer area south of the school (FN, 9/23/82, p. 3). The principal characterized the majority of parents as low income and estimated that about 57% of their families received AFDC (TI, 9/10/82, p. 10). A district evaluation report for 1981-82 put the figure at 65.7% (Evaluation Report, 1981-82, p. 1). The racial and ethnic composition of the student body for the year of this study was estimated by the principal to be 99% Black and 1% Spanish surname (SDI, 1982, p. 2).

Over half of Kirkland's students had scored below the 50th percentile on the CTBS and were classified as educationally disadvantaged youth (EDY). The assistant principal in charge of instruction reported that about one-third of the students tested at grade level in basic skills (FN, 10/15/82, p. 3). The school received Chapter 1 funding to provide supplementary instruction for EDY youngsters.

CTBS test scores from the spring of 1982 showed that, as a group, seventh graders at Kirkland (compared with a national norm of the 50th percentile) scored at the 29th percentile in reading, the 41st in mathematics, and the 33rd in language. Comparable scores for eighth graders were the 38th, 42nd, and 35th percentiles. And ninth graders scored at the 26th percentile in reading, 29th in mathematics, and 29th in language (Evaluation Report, 1981-82, pp. 6-8). Despite such low scores on standardized tests, Kirkland's students performed relatively well on the Everett School District test of proficiencies in basic skills, which measured how well students had mastered specific learning objectives. With 70% correct as the criterion for passing, the report for Kirkland's seventh-grade students showed 71% had achieved competency in reading, 67% in written expression, and 58% in mathematics (Evaluation Report, 1981-82, p. 8).

Students' comments about Kirkland indicated that they were well aware of the changes that Barnhart had brought about during her tenure as principal. Nearly all of those who were interviewed believed that the school's reputation and its overall operations had improved from what they had been in the past (TI, 5/5/83, p. 3; TI, 5/5/83, p. 4; TI, 5/5/83, p. 5; TI, 5/13/83, p. 3; TI, 5/24/83, p. 3; TI, 6/8/83, p. 2). They recognized and described the changes that Barnhart had brought about through the disciplinary measures she had instituted, and they voiced appreciation for the more orderly and safe environment she had created. A number of students mentioned that Barnhart had been helpful to them (TI, 5/5/83, p. 3; TI, 5/18/83, p. 2; TI, 6/3/83, p. 3); several said that Barnhart had assisted them in their relationships with teachers (TI, 5/5/83, pp. 2-3; TI, 5/5/83, p. 2). One student commented on Barnhart's willingness to "give students chances" (TI, 5/5/83, p. 3). Another believed that the principal had set a model of appropriate behavior for students (TI, 5/18/83, p. 2).

Parents also acknowledged and appreciated improvements made by Barnhart. They praised Barnhart for exercising control and for maintaining constant contact with parents (FN, 9/13/82, p. 8). And they were more willing to participate in school activities. The principal noted that parents came to the school not only when there was a problem but because they were concerned about the education of their children (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 5-8). Nevertheless, she also acknowledged that most of the parents who participated in school activities were from families of the higher achieving students (TI, 9/10/82, p. 10).

Barnhart was also concerned that parents of more capable students were inclined to remove their children from Kirkland and send them to other schools. She recounted how parents had come to her at the start of the year and expressed concern about the quality of the educational program at Kirkland. Barnhart tried to reassure them that Kirkland could meet the needs of their youngsters. In addition, she pointed out to them that if they "keep taking very capable students from me, I will never be able to raise the achievement level of students as we should" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 10).

Kirkland's Staff

The needs of Kirkland's students were attended to by a staff of over 70, including 44 professionals. The administrative group consisted of the principal and two assistants. Instructional staff consisted of 27 regular classroom teachers, two teachers in the Re-entry program, and two special education teachers. They were supported by 10 additional professionals: three counselors, a Chapter 1 project director, two resource teachers (in math and English), a librarian, and three quarter-time specialists (speech therapist, psychologist, and nurse). In addition, Kirkland employed 10 classroom aides, seven of whom worked full time, one three-quarter time, and three half time. Four persons acted as campus supervisors, three full time and one half time. There were 14 classified staff members, nine full time and five half time.

Complete information about the experience of Kirkland's teaching staff was not available. The principal estimated the average experience of the staff at 7-10 years. Of the 10 staff members who were interviewed, one teacher was in his first year, two had 4-6 years of experience, two had 7-10 years, and five had more than 10 years of classroom experience.

Factions in this large and diverse teaching staff were most evident in the faculty lunchroom, where individuals tended to sit in the same places and eat with the same colleagues. One table was always occupied by a group of Black teachers; another by a racially integrated group of younger, aggressive teachers who were nonsmokers. At a third table sat older, White teachers, all but one of whom were smokers. The table closest to the door was occupied by the less aggressive teachers, one of whom was Black and the rest White; these were all "outsiders" (SO, 5/26/83, p. 1).

Barnhart commented that groups within the school defined themselves by their own needs and self-interests. She characterized one group as very supportive of her policies, made up of people who did whatever was asked and who volunteered their time to make the school's programs work better. A second group consisted of those in the "middle of the road" who did just enough to get by. The principal labeled a third group as "destroyers"--staff members who were unsupportive, divisive, and "not going to do anything" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 15; FN, 10/1/82, p. 11).

The supportive group constituted an inner circle. Barnhart nurtured this group because she believed that it was important to have a group of staff members upon whom she could depend to get certain jobs done and to provide support for her efforts (TI, 9/10/82, p. 16). The principal was also responsible for bringing the administrative assistant principal to Kirkland and for hiring the Chapter 1 project director; these individuals and Barnhart made up the administrative team that met together every day over lunch.

Several teachers commented negatively about the network of individuals around the principal (TI, 2/17/83, p. 10). One described the situation in terms of "a real inner and an outer circle" and commented that she saw herself as "on the outs." She said that she would not go to Barnhart to confide any of her concerns because the principal did not communicate to her that "I'm interested in what you have to say and what you're worried about" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 10). Another teacher described individuals in the principal's network as "operat[ing] almost on their own" (TI, 2/15/83, p. 19).

Despite these problems, most teachers believed that Kirkland had been improved considerably during Barnhart's tenure as principal, and they attributed this change to Barnhart (TI, 2/15/83, p. 10; TI, 2/17/83, p. 5; TI, 4/27/83, p. 4; TI, 5/13/83, p. 4). One teacher who had been at Kirkland before Barnhart became principal said about the changes, "I've been at this school for seven years, and this place is much, much more orderly" (TI, 2/15/83, p. 10).

Also, most staff believed that Barnhart had been assigned to Kirkland specifically to bring the school under control and would not remain for long (TI, 5/13/83, p. 4; TI, 5/26/83, p. 5). One teacher said:

> I just really get the sense that this is a woman who was sent to a school site to do a particular task because her skills were really thought to be high, and once that's done, she will then move on up the ladder. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 14)

Although staff members were aware of Barnhart's goal to establish order at Kirkland, they were unable to articulate clearly any long-term goals held by their principal. They made vague references to the need to raise Kirkland's reputation in the community, and some teachers reflected on the need to raise the achievement level of students (TI, 4/27/83, p. 4; TI, 5/13/83, p. 5; TI, 5/26/83, p. 5; TI, 5/26/83, p. 7).

Most teachers did not see Barnhart as having any effect on their teaching or curriculum (TI, 2/15/83, p. 14; TI, 2/17/83, pp. 7-8; TI, 4/27/83, p. 5; TI, 5/12/83, p. 5; TI, 5/13/83, p. 5; TI, 5/26/83, p. 6). Instead, teachers tended to believe that Barnhart had influenced the nature of their relationships with students. One teacher described how he had become more involved as a friend and counselor to his students because of Barnhart (TI, 2/15/83, p. 14). Another stated that Barnhart had taught her how to be "more humane" with students (TI, 3/22/83, p. 7). A third commented that she had learned techniques of positive reinforcement from Barnhart (TI, 3/22/83, p. 8).

Teachers also perceived Barnhart as being psychologically astute in her dealings with them, indicating that she used cordiality, encouragement, and positive reinforcement (TI, 3/22/83, p. 6; TI, 4/27/83, p. 7; TI, 5/20/83, p. 2). Teachers described Barnhart as "supportive" (TI, 3/22/83, pp. 9-10; TI, 4/27/83, p. 4), "open to talk to" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 4), "having good ideas" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 5), and as "[someone who] looks at teachers individually" (TI, 5/20/83, p. 3). Her strong communication skills were mentioned frequently, including her "eloquent" tone (TI, 3/22/83, pp. 6, 9-10; TI, 5/26/83, p. 6; TI, 6/2/83, p. 10).

However, not all statements about Barnhart's relations with Kirkland's faculty were positive. One teacher saw the principal as unresponsive to suggestions made by the faculty (TI, 2/17/83, p. 6). Others were aware of ways in which Barnhart acted protectively toward the administrative staff. For example, one teacher expressed concern that errors by other administrators occurred without any apparent admonishment by Barnhart, whereas teachers were "reprimanded, warned, written up" when they failed to meet their responsibilities (TI, 2/15/83, p. 18).

Kirkland's Principal

Towering nearly six feet tall in dress shoes, Florence Barnhart projected an air of calm authority as she walked through Kirkland's halls, greeting students, exchanging information with the campus supervisors, and chatting to parents. In her early forties, this striking Black woman used her impressive size and rich, booming voice to convey to the school's population that she would tolerate no nonsense. Whether issuing patient, stern warnings or matching students' street language in quick retorts, Barnhart was ready to settle firmly any dispute that might arise. Yet she had a broad smile and friendly manner which showed great warmth and caring.

When speaking of her current position as head of Kirkland, Barnhart recalled that she had "never wanted to be a principal" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 1). Many of her family members were teachers, principals, and professors, and Barnhart was not inclined to follow in their footsteps. But a strong religious background which stressed humanitarian values and the importance of giving everybody an opportunity to succeed made teaching a natural choice. Barnhart entered the teaching profession and discovered that she was excited about it "because there was so much to do with children" (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 1-2).

Barnhart spent six years as a classroom teacher, then worked as a counselor for 12 years. She moved into school administration, guided by one of Everett's district administrators with whom she had worked for a number of years. She spent two years as assistant principal for an Everett high school while completing a Ph.D. in educational psychology. Her next challenge would be the principalship at Kirkland Junior High School.

Although Barnhart initially quailed at the task of bringing order to Kirkland, she persevered. Because of the chaos that prevailed, her first priorities were straightforward:

> I knew that the first thing that I had to do was establish some sense of direction within the school and to have some order. In fact, [chaos existed] to the point where I said to the students that everybody had to walk to the right in the hall, just so that people could pass each other. (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 4-5)

She established rules for student behavior, "some very basic rules that you would think any school would have," such as "no talking in a loud voice" and "you can't go to your lockers between periods." Barnhart also worked to relocate problem and overage students, and she enforced a "closed campus" policy in order to keep students inside the school and intruders outside (TI, 9/10/82, p. 5).

One teacher, recounting his experiences with Barnhart as a new principal, lauded her decisiveness during the first months of her tenure:

> I'll never forget the first faculty meeting we had when she was principal. She said right to the staff, "I am a benevolent dictator." She used that term, and I remember that I was stunned that someone would come into a new staff and say, "This is the way I run the place. I am a benevolent dictator. I will listen, but the bottom line is I run the place." (TI, 2/15/83, p. 10)

Barnhart recalled that the task of establishing order was not easy:

> Now, all of those rules, of course, were not accepted by everybody at first, and we had to work on that. And it took me over a year to say to students and to parents and to staff members, say, "Yes, we are going to have some discipline within the school." That took a long time. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 6)

Barnhart did not like to be a strict disciplinarian, but she was experienced with this approach. Her own role models, the teachers, ministers, and lawyers with whom she had grown up in the South, had been authority figures whose dictates were never questioned by youngsters. When Barnhart came to the West Coast, she was astonished at how rude and disrespectful students were. As a result, she became rigid and authoritarian as a classroom teacher. Later, when she became a counselor, her beliefs shifted; she became interested in developing the whole person, encouraging student development, and understanding the world in which the student lived (FN, 9/8/82, p. 3). She described her attitudes as follows:

> I believe very strongly in being a humanitarian and I believe that half of any job is getting along with people. A leader must be able to deal with people first before they can deal with anything else that goes on in the school. And that's where I always come from. Let's get along together, work together in a cooperative way first, before we deal with anything else. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 3)

With improved conditions at Kirkland, Barnhart was able to show more of her positive qualities in her interactions with students, staff, and community. The observer, writing about his impressions of Barnhart after an early visit to the school, noted how impressed he was by her "cordiality and warmth" (SO, 9/13/82, p. 24). On other occasions, he noted her capacity to "smooth ruffled feathers" (SO, 9/30/82, p. 6) and commented that "the manner in which she deals with people is very personal in its warmth and consideration" (SO, 10/18/82, p. 5).

Barnhart's ability to subordinate her preferred style to the demands of her setting was one reason she was able to establish order at Kirkland. She set firm priorities in order to achieve her goals. Faced with a school where basic teaching functions often could not be carried out due to student disruptions, Barnhart had decided that efforts to raise student achievement had to wait until she had convinced Kirkland's population that she was serious about maintaining discipline. She explained, "Only then [could] I begin to think about achievement and test scores and learning" (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 4-5).

Barnhart's success could also be attributed to her political astuteness. Whether dealing with disgruntled parents or with the district office, she always sought the most efficient way to get what she wanted, aided by her many contacts in the central administration. Although she preferred to go through channels rather than "over people's heads," Barnhart recognized the necessity of "knowing the ropes," and when she did favors for people, she was not reluctant to make it clear that she expected them to do her a favor in return some day. As she did within the school, she actively cultivated an "inner circle" or support system outside the school, people whom she could depend on to get things done.

Kirkland's principal was a skilled negotiator, and she frequently used these techniques to settle disputes that arose among students and staff members. She considered supervision to be one of her primary responsibilities; she expected her staff to be accountable for their actions and kept records when her employees failed to carry out their responsibilities, particularly when teachers did not maintain discipline in their classrooms.

In sum, Principal Florence Barnhart was a clearsighted, forceful woman who worked hard to turn Kirkland into an orderly, functioning junior high school. Except for establishing "honors" classes in English and math, her efforts did not extend substantively into instructional areas; her major classroom focus was discipline. Her stated concern for raising achievement at Kirkland was not borne out by her activities during the year of this study. But the vast majority of Kirkland's staff and patrons appreciated the changes she had brought to their school.

A Day in the Life of Florence Barnhart

Principal Barnhart had developed a style of management that, in her opinion, brought to life her vision of what a school should be within the context of Kirkland Junior High School and the Everett community. Some of the salient features of that context were: an ethnically homogeneous student population, low achievement scores, and a history of student disruptions and lack of community support. This section presents a typical day for

Barnhart at Kirkland as seen through the eyes of an observer who attempted to record only those incidents directly involving the principal. The "day" as it appears here is in reality a composite, made up of segments drawn from several different days. The incidents, however, are representative and create a vivid and accurate impression of life at Kirkland. This close-up view describes Barnhart's interactions with students, staff, and parents, and it also illustrates how political, demographic, and financial factors influenced the actions of Kirkland's principal.

At 7:15 on a bright, blowy morning in early February, Florence Barnhart drove up to Kirkland Junior High School. The grounds were peaceful and empty except for a few teachers who, like Barnhart, wanted to take advantage of the quiet to get work done before the school day officially began. As the principal got out of her car, she was greeted by the head custodian, Mr. Capelli, who engaged her in a brief conversation. When they finished talking, Barnhart entered the building and went into her office.

Waiting on her desk were unfinished paperwork from the day before and new tasks for her to begin. Barnhart always checked her basket first to assess what work she would sandwich between meetings, supervision, and a nonstop round of dealings with students, teachers, and parents This morning, the most pressing item of business was composing a letter criticizing the performance of the school's assistant principal for instruction, Rick Hidalgo. One of his responsibilities was the dissemination of class schedules to students at the beginning of each semester; this activity had been mismanaged when the spring semester had begun. Barnhart was reluctant to take such drastic measures, especially since Hidalgo was a long-term employee of the Everett district, but she believed his performance was not benefitting the school. Earlier in the year, she had documented his failure to turn in a required statement of his job objectives, despite two reminders. As Barnhart worked, students began to arrive at Kirkland; their noisy chatter and the slamming locker doors replaced the early morning quiet in the principal's office.

At the 8:30 bell, Barnhart put down her pen and went out into the hall to monitor the boisterous students. The principal had made supervising hallways a daily activity because she believed it was important for her to be visible. Moving down the hall, Barnhart greeted students and spoke briefly to a parent about parent participation in school activities. Soon the hall cleared as the students disappeared into their classrooms, and Barnhart went back into her office and began to sign time sheets.

Mr. Landon, one of the four campus supervisors, came in and began telling Barnhart about two students who had been tardy and disrespectful. "What did they say?" Barnhart asked. He told her, and as she picked up the phone to call the students' parents, Mr. Riggs, another campus supervisor, brought in one of the students. When Barnhart got no answer from the number she had dialed, she turned and asked the girl whose number she had provided on her locater card. The girl told Barnhart that no one was home because her mother was at the doctor. The principal took the student to Hidalgo's office and told the assistant principal to set up a parent conference; she sent the girl home until a parent could return with her.

At nine o'clock, Barnhart poured herself a cup of coffee and went into her conference room, adjacent to her office, for a scheduled meeting with George Wagner, a young, ambitious English teacher. Wagner had requested the meeting because he wanted to talk to Barnhart about ways to improve the English department. Barnhart was aware that he was interested in the department chairmanship, and she was considering assigning him to that position, despite his lack of popularity with other teachers in the department.

When Barnhart and Wagner were seated at the conference table, the English teacher began his presentation by showing the principal a document he had prepared describing how the English department could do a better job, resulting in higher test scores. This could be accomplished, he believed, by focusing more attention on writing and on high achievers. He said he thought the "workshop" approach (i.e., remediation classes taught by resource teachers for students scoring below grade level) did not work very well because students were just assigned to computers and left to work on their own. "These students need more individualized attention on the basic skills," he said, adding that the math resource teacher corroborated his belief that if students were not given training in grade-level skills, they would not be able to perform well on proficiency tests. "The high achievers need more individualized attention too," he insisted. He also believed the department lacked adequate staff and had no leadership. He concluded his presentation by saying he wanted a chance to do more, especially in planning curriculum, and he complained about the flow of information in the department.

"How would you change the English department if you were chairman?" Barnhart then asked.

Wagner replied that he would change it with better planning, adding that it would help if teachers had a better understanding of students. He said he did not agree with the position of some of his colleagues who felt that students were not ready for higher level work.

"Are you ready to assume the chairmanship and get all the flack about your youth? You're sure going to get it," Barnhart said.

"Yes," Wagner replied. He said one cannot attract followers unless one has something to say or a direction to go. The students needed a greater exposure to the material, he told her.

Barnhart asked him whom he would choose to teach the seventh graders if he were chairman.

"Linda Harris," he told her. "She's strong."

Barnhart continued, "What would be the goal of the department? Do you want to put emphasis on seventh or ninth graders?" Without waiting for an answer, the principal told him those were the questions he would be asked as chair of the department. She said that over the past few years the English department, unlike the math department, had shown improvement in student test scores in some areas. "You've done a good job," she said, telling him he would be receiving a letter of commendation. Wagner thanked her, saying it would help him obtain a needed summer job.

They then closed the conversation by chatting about other school issues. They talked about the P.E. classes and how the lax attitude in that area had led to students running around in the halls when they did not dress for class. Wagner recommended hiring a teacher from another school who had received a layoff notice. "He's a no-nonsense person who'll be able to get the kids to dress," Wagner said. Barnhart told him she was strongly inclined toward making him chairman and asked again if he was prepared for the flack; again he said he was and repeated that he felt the department needed to pay more attention to the basic skills and high achievers.

Wagner left the conference room at 9:30 and Barnhart went back to her office to work on a memo for an upcoming faculty meeting; she placed great emphasis on being thoroughly prepared for meetings. She was interrupted by a call from a woman at the district office who wanted an accurate tally of student enrollment at Kirkland for the second semester. "I'll have to check the master list," the principal responded. "Do you have time to wait, or should I call back?" Barnhart then said that she had nearly 800 students and that she would send the corrected numbers as soon as possible.

As Barnhart returned to writing her memo, her secretary, Janice Mackie, brought in a copy of the weekly school bulletin for the principal to review and some forms for her to sign. Barnhart told her she had an addition to the bulletin and signed the forms after checking her calendar to verify a date. She gave the secretary a list of teachers to be evaluated and said the list was never accurate. Mackie asked if new teachers should be included in the list to be evaluated; Barnhart said they should.

In a few minutes the secretary entered again, and Barnhart asked her a question about signatures needed for bank forms to release school funds for an upcoming assembly. They both complained about the location of the bank in which school funds were held and agreed to transfer their account to a closer bank, mentioning a possible alternative.

Barnhart began to read material in her basket while listening to an outer office discussion; at one point, she yelled out to campus supervisor Riggs the answer to a question he had asked the secretary. Mackie came back in with the bank documents, and she and Barnhart reviewed them, adding needed information. The assistant principal for administration, Gerald Adams, entered; Barnhart greeted him and they talked. She told him everyone was waiting until the last minute to turn in course objectives for second semester: "You know I can't stand that."

Adams asked her if the upcoming CTBS testing should be done in the cafeteria. Barnhart said she did not like that idea and called to Susan Matthews, the Chapter 1 project director, who was outside in the main office, and asked her how many students were to be tested. Matthews gave her a general figure. "Then we can fit them all in the portables," Adams said. All three agreed and began to coordinate activities.

"What can I do to help?" Barnhart asked Adams.

"Walk around and monitor," he replied.

Barnhart then told Adams about the course objectives she had received from a math teacher, Ed Terkel, with whom she had been having problems for some time. Terkel had objected to having to write his objectives, and Barnhart had found it necessary to resort to meetings with a district representative to get him to cooperate. The same teacher had also refused to participate in the school's long-term planning discussions. Further, he had accused Barnhart of causing personal problems in his home by requiring that he write weekly lesson plans. "Now he won't even talk to me; he just drops his lesson plans on my desk and leaves without saying a word," Barnhart told the assistant principal.

Before Adams left, he told Barnhart she needed to arrange for the counselors to administer the CTBS test, but she said she was reluctant to use counselors as examination proctors, and they deferred the decision. After Matthews and Adams left, Mackie came in once again with a teacher absence form for Barnhart's signature. The principal reminded her secretary that it was almost time for a meeting she had scheduled with Mackie and Harriet Forbes, another of the office clerks, and when Mackie had left, went back to her paperwork.

At 10:30, Mackie and Forbes came into the principal's office, and Barnhart motioned them into the conference room. A conflict between the two had been brewing, and Barnhart wanted to resolve the issues, which primarily involved the division of duties between the two and a disagreement about break times. Two years before, when Barnhart had become principal, the power accumulated by the former office secretary had interfered with the principal's ability to effect changes. Barnhart had compelled the secretary to retire, an action that had been resented by some of the teachers at the school. This situation had made Barnhart sensitive to the implications of conflict in the front office.

Playing the role of mediator, the principal told the two women that she had brought them together to resolve the conflicts between them. She first asked Forbes to state the problem as she saw it and took notes as the clerk talked. When Forbes had finished, Barnhart repeated what she had said to make sure she understood it and allowed Forbes to make an additional statement. Mackie then took her turn and Barnhart also repeated her statements and asked if the statement was correct. "Is that it in a nutshell?" she asked them both; Mackie said it was, and Forbes filled in some gaps in Mackie's statements.

Barnhart then told them that she thought that the office had been running better since the former secretary had retired, and that they were going to have to get along with each other since both represented her. She then informed them of their respective duties, emphasizing that Mackie was the head secretary and was responsible for staff members and should set their break times. Both of her employees then burst out talking; Forbes felt that Mackie was picking on her and Mackie thought Forbes should be doing better work at a faster rate. Barnhart quickly stepped in and brought the accusations to a halt. She told them sternly that the office could not afford inefficiency because some teachers resented her for forcing the former secretary to retire and remained alert for any sign that Barnhart had erred. Barnhart felt that any inefficiency in the management of the office would reflect on her. Therefore, she would not tolerate continued hostilities between the two women.

Barnhart restated their duties and responsibilities and then asked each of them if they could work under this arrangement. This was a negotiating technique that she used often with students and teachers alike. Forbes was still concerned over ambiguities in the statements she and Mackie had given; Barnhart told her that it was not always possible to resolve such things, and then she defined the procedures for their interaction. She told them that Mackie was to put the day's work for Forbes in a folder and that this work was to be completed at the end of the day; Forbes was also responsible for answering the telephones. They discussed breaks and agreed that Mackie should return from lunch by 12:15 so Forbes could take her break between 12:15 and 12:30. She cautioned both not be be too rigid but to adhere to the agreement as much as possible.

Barnhart concluded the meeting by saying that she had gone over these issues once before and would not do so again. She then told Mackie and Forbes that she was not satisfied with their work production and that letters were not being typed when they were received. She said again that work must be completed when assigned and left it up to them to work out the details. "Now, can you two work together in peace and harmony and help each other?" she asked.

"Yes," they both said.

"You know how I feel about each of you," Barnhart concluded. "It would pain me to have to document your work."

When Barnhart returned to her office at 11:15, Adams stopped in briefly to tell her that CTBS testing concerns had been resolved. A few minutes later, a good friend of Barnhart's, Clara Downs, came into the office for a scheduled meeting. Downs, the principal of another Everett junior high school and the wife of Barnhart's pastor, was serving as chair of a districtwide committee to study alternatives to traditional nine-month neighborhood schools. Barnhart had agreed to assist her in obtaining additional members for the committee. The principal greeted Downs warmly and asked her opinion on the programs that had been proposed by the committee; Downs said that she felt the "year-round" school--45 days in school followed by 15 days off--was a good idea as it would ease the severe overcrowding in Everett's schools. Barnhart took this opportunity to tell Downs about Kirkland's large enrollment: Although the school was built for 600, it now had an enrollment of nearly 800; she felt they were at capacity and added that she didn't want any more students or portables. She also said that the district needed to redraw school boundaries so that some of Kirkland's students would be redirected to other junior high schools. Downs told her how much the image of Kirkland had changed for the better in the past few years.

They turned to committee business. When Downs asked Barnhart for two teachers to serve on the committee, Barnhart replied that she could not provide any teachers, but she offered the services of her administrative staff: Hidalgo, Adams, or Matthews. Downs thanked her and asked what she saw as committee problems. "You aren't giving us enough notice for meetings," Barnhart said. Downs told her when the next meeting was scheduled and concluded by saying that the alternatives proposed by the committee sounded good and people were excited about their ideas.

At noon, Matthews came in to tell Barnhart that 84 students were to be given the CTBS. Then Capelli, the head custodian, came in to tell the principal about a truck that was scheduled to come on campus to trim trees. Barnhart asked him for the names of the gardeners assigned to Kirkland and told him she would like to have them trim the hedges. When he left, she put on her walking shoes but went back to writing memos and clearing the papers in her basket; one of the things she worked on was developing an agenda for an upcoming meeting with the school's counselors. Mackie interrupted her to bring in an advertisement. He was followed by Mrs. Terrace, the chair of the School Advisory Committee (SAC). Terrace told Barnhart of her plans for the SAC, and Barnhart asked her if she was going to attend the conference in Phoenix. Terrace talked about the district's problems in funding such trips but said they could be worked out and she planned to go. They discussed district politics for a few minutes.

After walking Terrace to the hallway, Barnhart checked her mailbox in the main office before returning to her desk. She read the alternative education handbook Downs had given her and checked her personal calendar. She wrote a note and called Dr. Fogerty, whom she had known a long time. Now an advocate for faculty who brought grievances against the district, Fogerty had met with Barnhart last year regarding Ed Terkel, the math teacher who did not want to turn in his course objectives. The principal asked him how he was doing and told him that she was still having problems with Terkel. She described his refusal to cooperate and set up a meeting for the following Friday. Then Capelli came in to give his work schedule to Barnhart and tell her when the gardeners were going to come to Kirkland.

At 12:30, Barnhart left the office and headed toward the cafeteria for her daily lunch supervision duties. The cafeteria was, as always, crowded with students talking, laughing, and shouting; the noise made it difficult for Barnhart to hear as she moved from group to group. She greeted students, talking to one about his prior behavior problems, asking another if he had gone to his classes. She went to three tables of especially noisy boys, reminding them to clean up their tables when they had finished eating. "Yes, sir!" one boy said vigorously, and Barnhart jokingly replied, "I love it." As she was talking to him, Hidalgo pulled her away from the group and showed her a huge knife. When she asked him where he got it, he said that he had taken it from a student.

A counselor brought a student over and made him tell the principal what he had said to another student; the boy repeated, "I am going to fuck you up." Matching the boy's language, Barnhart told him sternly, "If you kick his ass, I will kick yours." The student said he didn't mean to be disrespectful, that he and the other students always played that way. She let him go with a warning.

Adams came into the cafeteria; Barnhart greeted him and told him she was looking for a boy in a wine-colored sweater who had not cleaned up the mess from his lunch.

At one o'clock, she went out into the yard and continued talking to students, a number of whom came up to greet her and chat. Seeing a student standing on the side of the line in the yard where students were not supposed to have food, Barnhart confronted the youngster and checked his pockets for food, but when she found out he did not have any, she let him go. Two well-mannered new students from Houston approached her and Barnhart, who herself missed her native South, asked them if they missed their home town. Self-conscious at being singled out, they answered quietly, "Yes."

As she stood near the snack bar, keeping an eye on the lined-up students, Barnhart spotted one of the custodians and asked him what she could do to get the cafeteria painted another color. He told her the color had been chosen by the district and suggested she talk to a certain person at the district office about changing it. They walked together towards the main building, talking about the best way to get the color changed. Barnhart knew many people in the district office, and she was aware that contacting them directly was often faster than going through official channels.

While she was talking to students, a man interrupted her to say his truck was waiting outside the gate and to find out where he should deliver the school's linen supply. Barnhart asked him what time he was supposed to deliver the linen. "Is this a bad time?" he asked, and she told him that he should never deliver during the lunch hour. He said he hadn't known what the school's schedule was; she accepted his excuse and told him to see the assistant principal for administration in the future. Barnhart, seeing Adams supervising activities across the yard, called to him and asked for his key to the southwest gate, as she had forgotten hers. "This is a lesson to me to carry my keys," she told Adams. Barnhart then escorted the delivery man to the gate, greeting students along the way. She unlocked the gate, and the man drove his truck through. Adams helped him unload the linen and put it in the linen storage room in the gym, and he locked the gate after the truck had left.

The industrial arts teacher, seeing Barnhart, approached her with a young man named Jethro, who was not a Kirkland student. The teacher said Jethro was here to retrieve a radio that had been confiscated from a student named Richard Eubanks. Barnhart told Jethro that she would have to talk to Richard since she did not really know this person. She told Jethro to meet her in her office after lunch period and they would settle the problem together. Learning from another student that the radio had been confiscated by Riggs, Barnhart called to the campus supervisor, who was monitoring the students' lunchtime games. He walked over to where the principal was standing, and she asked him to meet her at the office to help settle the issue between Jethro and Richard. Riggs used this opportunity to tell the principal about a group of students who had been smoking marijuana behind the portables. He told her who they were and said he was going to catch them in the act, maybe the next day.

At 1:20, the passing bell rang, and students began moving toward their fifth-period classes. Barnhart followed the flow, calling to students by name and telling them to hurry back to class. "How are you doing?" she asked one. "I haven't seen you lately. I'm glad. Not seeing you is good. It means no trouble from you." Seeing a student throw food wrapping on the ground, she ordered, "Pick up that paper," and almost in the same breath, turned to another student and said, "I'm so proud of you, you haven't been in my office all year."

The boy replied, "I've been good all year."

In the hallway, Barnhart yelled, "Hurry up, Roger," singling out one of the many students scurrying on to class. She checked briefly with a boy she did not recognize to make sure he was a Kirkland student and told yet another student, who was eating a popsicle, that he would have to finish his lunch outside.

When Barnhart arrived back at the main office, she found that Richard Eubanks had been located, and that he had come to the office to help settle the dispute over the radio. In the interchange that followed between the principal, Riggs, Richard, and Jethro, it was learned that the radio had been confiscated not from Eubanks, but from another student, Nate Simkins. The youth who had come to claim his radio was told that Nate could get the radio after school. He accepted the decision and left the office after telling Richard to make sure that Nate claimed the radio.

Barnhart made a brief stop in her office to check for messages, returning one call to another junior high school principal who wanted to borrow a set of math textbooks. "What's the name of that book again?" Barnhart asked, and said she would talk to Gerald Adams about it. "And what do I get in return?" she queried.

Upon completing the call, she went into the conference room for her daily lunch meeting with two of her assistants, Adams and Matthews. Hidalgo, the third of her administrative assistants, was never invited to these sessions. Matthews was already there, eating her lunch; she and the principal chatted briefly about Matthews's sandwich and their personal lives and then dived into the issues of the day, which included an overly strict teacher, time cards, and the next day's School Advisory Committee meeting. Barnhart began to read her mail and commented about a conference notice, "I can't see paying fifty dollars for one day."

Riggs, one of the campus supervisors, walked in to inform the principal that he had sent a student off campus earlier that day. He asked about another student, and she told him the boy had been suspended for a week and would return after a parent conference. Adams entered the room, made a cup of coffee and stood, smoking a cigarette. Barnhart told him about a transfer she had arranged for a problem student; when he asked why, she explained briefly. Then Barnhart, Adams, Matthews, and Riggs engaged in light discussion about students and events of the day. They talked about a student who had encountered a problem with his locker, and Matthews mentioned how well that boy and his two brothers sang in church; she had recently heard them singing at a funeral. Changing the topic and adding some humor, Riggs warned of the full moon, and everybody bemoaned its horrors. The light-hearted banter continued as Adams told everyone how he had made the mistake of calling a short-haired girl "son" and when he had realized his mistake, he had immediately apologized. The others laughed.

The name of a student who had been arrested came up; Matthews said that that youngster was special, and Adams joked, "All of our children are special." The student had been very belligerent until he was placed in a police car, and the four laughed at Riggs's description of the youth's sudden loss of confidence as the door of the squad car was slammed shut. When the campus supervisor had left, Adams reported that he had spoken with one of the P.E. teachers about an incident involving a disruptive student. The student claimed the teacher had hit him with a newspaper, while the teacher stated he had merely given the newspaper to the student to read. The parent of the student had taken her child home.

The administrators' conversation turned to the problem Miss Franklin was having with one of her classes. She had requested that one of the administrators visit her sixth-period English class to talk about discipline. Adams said that although the teacher was new to Kirkland, she had been in the district for at least four years. Barnhart voiced displeasure about the fact that other principals under whom Franklin had worked had not documented her behavior.

Then Barnhart informed Adams of a phone call she had received from the junior high school principal who had requested a particular set of math books. Adams replied that these books were being used by Kirkland students. Although the issue was not resolved, Barnhart said that book use should be arranged with the clerks of each school. The principal then showed Adams a list of teacher evaluation assignments for each administrator, and they talked about the politics of evaluation.

At that point, the school psychologist walked into the room to have the principal sign his time sheet; as she did so, he told her about a student who had been molested by a babysitter. When he left, Barnhart, Adams, and Matthews returned to their consideration of problems of the day and again focused on Franklin, the English teacher. Adams said he had received six referrals from that teacher and expressed disapproval; he and Barnhart speculated about why Franklin was having such problems maintaining discipline. "Why don't you use your contacts with the district to get the teachers we need?" Adams asked the principal. Barnhart answered that she would go through established channels before she went over anyone's head. As the three began to clear the debris from their lunches, Matthews mentioned that the CTBS tests were ready. "It's about time," Adams retorted. As they left the conference room, Adams asked Matthews when the next SAC meeting was scheduled.

While they stood in the principal's office, Riggs appeared again, bringing with him two students who had been horsing around in P.E.; one had been slightly hurt. Barnhart gave them stern warnings and told them to go back to class and behave themselves.

It was now 2:20 and the start of sixth period. Barnhart went up to the second floor to visit Franklin's class, as the teacher had requested. Barnhart was documenting her behavior carefully in order to justify a request to have the teacher transferred to another school. The principal believed this action was in the school's best interest because both students and parents had been complaining about Franklin's failure to maintain class discipline.

Barnhart entered the classroom and took a seat at one of the desks in the back of the class; she observed the students enter and greeted many of them by name. When the bell rang to announce the beginning of the period, Franklin talked about the class's discipline problems as she wrung her hands. Then she yielded the floor to Kirkland's principal.

Walking to the front of the class, Barnhart began by saying she knew most of the students in the class. "You know what's expected of you," she told them. She said most were "A" students. She pointed out to them that many had been tardy and many did not have books. She warned them that this behavior would not be tolerated and requested their best behavior. "Let me know if you have any more problems," she told Franklin. She walked back to her seat and observed the class for a little while longer. After a few minutes, she interrupted the class to say she was leaving. She appointed a class secretary and a monitor and told them they were to report to her any misbehavior. Finally, she pointed out three students and told them specifically to behave. She then left and headed back to her office. On the way, the chair of the math department, seeing her pensive expression, asked her if she was all right; she smiled and said, "Yes."

Barnhart went into the office and talked to a student who had been caught wearing his hat indoors, issuing him one of her patient, stern warnings: "The next time you're caught wearing it in the building, I'm going to keep it." Riggs, who was standing in the office, described the attendance problem of a student, Carl Walters, in one class and said he was going to "keep an eye out" for the student during fourth period when he suspected the student of cutting class. Both Riggs and Barnhart went to the counselors' offices to tell the eighth-grade counselor about the student's problem. When Barnhart located the counselor, they also talked about another problem student who had not been accepted in Mr. Mayfield's social studies class. The counselor said he was not surprised by the teacher's action but that he did have room in his class for the student; he wrote a note to the teacher instructing him to sign the student into the class.

At 2:45, Barnhart returned to the main office and relaxed by standing at the counter talking to the secretaries. Before the principal was able to catch her breath, a policeman came in and asked her for information on a former Kirkland student who was involved in a custody battle. Barnhart went into the counselors' offices, found the information, and photocopied it for the officer. A student entered, looking for the lost and found; she referred him to a cabinet door next to the teachers' mail boxes. She signed a requisition form given to her by Mackie. A parent came in to get permission to bring her children when she was volunteering on campus; she talked with Barnhart about how

Kirkland had changed for the better. After the parent left, Barnhart went back into her office and started writing a memo to Franklin, giving the teacher explicit directions for handling class discipline and taking care to be very specific so she would not be misunderstood. The telephone rang; the man on the other end was calling for a clerk whose name was very similar to Barnhart's. He requested her in a rude manner; in no uncertain terms, Barnhart identified herself, explained the confusion, and transferred the call to the clerk.

At three o'clock, Barnhart was back writing her memo; a student came into her office to enroll in a sixth-period class. Barnhart asked him how long he had been at Kirkland. "Two years," he replied. She said, "Then you know my office isn't the place to get a class added to your program," and sent him next door to see a counselor. Adams came in and told Barnhart the student she had just talked to had recently been released from juvenile camp and said he had taken his sixth-period class away from him; if the student presented no problems in the future, then he could have the sixth period back. Barnhart speculated that the student must have come to her in an attempt to work around the rules.

Barnhart and Adams took a cigarette break and complained to each other about the day's difficulties and about how stress made them smoke more. The bell rang, signalling the end of sixth period, and the two administrators went out into the crowded hall to monitor students' departure from school. One of the students from Franklin's class asked to be dropped from her class. Barnhart told him to wait a while to see if conditions in the class improved. As the student left, Riggs brought in two students who had been fighting. They insisted they had been playing. Barnhart sent them into her office to wait for her. She asked another campus supervisor about the students, then told Riggs that they would have to stay after school for detention until four o'clock. As she stood amid the hurrying students, Barnhart spotted two more students from Franklin's class and asked them, "How did you all do after I left?"

They said, "Fine," and left the building.

As Barnhart and Riggs moved back to the main office, the campus supervisor said he had found out that Carl Walters had been out of class fourth period that day and said he would "come down on him" tomorrow.

Richard Eubanks came into the office with his friend Nate Simkins and retrieved the radio that had eluded him. Barnhart then went into her office to talk to the students Riggs brought in for fighting. One told her the other had hit him during lunch, and the second boy defended himself. Barnhart resolved the matter briskly by telling both to go home and tell their parents they would be staying after school the next day for detention until four o'clock.

At 3:30, a foreign language teacher, who was also head of the Faculty Advisory Committee, walked into the principal's office to ask when a meeting between the two would be appropriate. They agreed on a time, and Barnhart started writing up minutes from the last faculty meeting. Mackie gave her a form to sign that requisitioned the district to replace a campus supervisor's watch, which had been broken when he had intervened in a fight. After Barnhart signed the form, she told Mackie to tell the campus supervisor to get a receipt for the watch to be included with the form. Then she went to her bookshelf and pulled out a book of African proverbs to look up a quotation to include in her minutes.

Two students came into Barnhart's office for detention. "Would you like to clean my office?" Barnhart asked them. They agreed, aware that complying would shorten their detention time, so she set them to work sweeping the rug and dusting the desk and table. Barnhart had devised this method to compensate for layoffs in custodial staff; students who received detention for minor infractions swept the hallways and picked up litter from the grounds.

As the boys worked, they spotted a a glass jar filled with peppermint sticks sitting on the principal's desk; their eyes lit up, and each pleaded for a stick of candy. Because they were "good kids" in for a minor offense, Barnhart reluctantly told them they could, and after taking pieces of candy, they continued merrily cleaning the office.

Ten minutes later the president of the PTA came into the principal's office. Barnhart greeted her and said she would be receiving a letter from Adams regarding items to be discussed at the next meeting. The visitor commented on how clean the school was. Barnhart introduced her to the art teacher standing nearby, who showed her a sign students had made in her art class. As they left, two custodians entered and told Barnhart about an incident that had occurred the previous Friday: A group had been designated to use a room at the school, but the custodians had not been notified and a conflict between them and the group had developed. Barnhart apologized for the mixup and told the custodians a meeting was scheduled for Tuesday evening at seven o'clock.

At four o'clock, a parent came into the main office and began to complain to Mackie. Barnhart came out and asked Mackie, "What's going on this late after school?" The parent told her she was here to pick up her child. Mackie said she thought the girl might have stayed late in a math classroom. "Who is the teacher?" Barnhart asked; the parent told her and began to complain that her daughter did not always understand the material in that class and that the teacher had said that if students did not understand the material by now, they were dumb. Barnhart said that could be easily verified and that she would check the situation out by talking to the teacher; when she knew more, she would get back to the parent. She obtained the parent's telephone number and promised to talk to the teacher and phone the parent tomorrow. She thanked the parent for telling her about the problem and asked her about her other children. At that point, the girl came in, and as she and her mother left, Barnhart told the mother to give her regards to her other children, whom the principal had known when she worked at another Everett school.

When the door had shut behind the two, Barnhart went back into her office to get ready to leave for the day. She straightened the papers on her desk and checked her calendar so she would be prepared for the next day's appointments and meetings. Then she gathered together her belongings, said "Good night" to her secretary in the main office, and left for her weekly hair appointment, which she looked forward to as a reward for a long, busy day.

Summary

Kirkland Junior High was an inner-city school of nearly 800 students which, in the past, had been characterized by student violence, poor achievement, and lack of community support. The student population was almost entirely Black, a majority of whom came from low-income families. Average CTBS scores were below national norms.

Principal Florence Barnhart was sent to the school to restore order, which she accomplished by tightening discipline standards and enforcing rules quickly and consistently. Student fighting had largely been eliminated, and community respect for Kirkland had increased, but student achievement remained low.

Kirkland's teachers varied widely in teaching experience, and they formed several factions that sometimes functioned divisively within the school setting. Barnhart herself made use of a "support group," people she felt she could count on to get things done.

Barnhart maintained the orderly environment that she had created at Kirkland by spending much of her day dealing with discipline matters. She often reminded students of appropriate behavior and she settled disputes and arranged punishment for recalcitrant youngsters. She also paid close attention to supervising her staff, making sure that her teachers were maintaining control over their students, discussing behavior problems with the campus supervisors and assistant principal, and ensuring that other employees were doing their jobs. Through daily "management team" meetings she kept in close touch with the workings of the school. She dealt skillfully with parents and community members, aware of the importance of public perceptions of Kirkland Junior High.

Largely as a result of Barnhart's leadership, Kirkland's state of chaos had been replaced by a school environment that was generally safe and orderly. Although we observed little direct influence by the principal on classroom instruction, staff and students recognized and valued Barnhart's contributions toward creating a better learning environment at Kirkland.

THE PRINCIPAL AND THE INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM OF THE SCHOOL

In the previous section, we introduced the reader to the school's setting, staff, and clients. We also attempted to bring our descriptions to life by allowing the reader to walk the halls with the principal, observing events as she experienced them. In this second portion of our study, we describe various elements of Kirkland's instructional system, and we recount the manner in which the principal's activities influenced, or failed to influence, each aspect. Again, our purpose is to reveal the role of the principal in the complex task of managing instruction at the building level.

The array of elements that we describe as parts of the instructional system may surprise some readers, for we envision the instructional process as involving much more than didactic interactions between teacher and student. The technical and social aspects of instruction are created, to a great extent, by teachers and students in classrooms, but instructional processes are affected directly and indirectly by social and organizational features of the school itself. The school, in turn, is affected by its larger context. For example, opportunities and constraints for participants in schools derive from state and federal regulations, districtwide programs and policies, as well as from circumstances imposed by the communities within which schools reside. In addition, each participant in the schooling process brings to a building or classroom his or her own history of experiences and his or her beliefs. These personal and idiosyncratic elements of school organizations also greatly influence the nature of instruction and student experiences (Dwyer, 1984). In the first section of this study, we illustrated how these factors interweave to form the context in which we view principals' behaviors and the consequences of those behaviors.

But to describe completely--or even satisfactorily--the complex blend of individuals and contexts that make up a school, we must, in some rational fashion, untangle policies, programs, individual proclivities, services, operating procedures, and even building designs. In order to accomplish this analysis, we must make distinctions, slicing organizational wholes into arbitrary and discrete pieces. The problem with any such dissection, however, is the artificial creation of categories. In the day-to-day events in the schools of our studies, no such distinctions occur; boundaries blur through multitudes of interactions and interactional effects. Nor can our "surgery" be guided by previous work. Prior research has failed to set forth a single, generalizable model of schools--the successes of the extant models are hinged to the specific purposes of the authors' analyses (e.g., Charters & Jones, 1973; Dunkin & Biddle, 1974; Gowin, 1981; Metz, 1978; Smith & Geoffrey, 1968).

Our strategy in facing this problem is twofold. First, whenever possible, we have allowed our incisions to be guided by the practical sense of the principals and teachers with whom we worked, using those categories mentioned frequently by them or used by them in planning. Secondly, in order to illustrate the permeability of our categories, we have taken every opportunity to describe how the different parts of our model affect one another. The unavoidable consequence of this latter tactic is some redundancy. We hope the reader will be understanding and patient.

This section, then, begins with a description of the overall goals of the school and proceeds to an examination of the social or climatic factors supporting or interfering with realization of those goals. It also describes the technical or organizational aspects of instruction at the school that either harmonize or clash with those goals.

Kirkland's Social and Academic Goals

John Dewey (1916) asserted that as a society advances, the need for formalized education increases. Knowledge grows exponentially, its accruing bulk rapidly outpacing any single individual's capacity or opportunity to gather it all firsthand. Schools, in response, are appointed to pass on the experiences, achievements, and values of a society and to prepare individuals to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. As a result, children, through schooling, come to link the past to the future. Schools also serve a custodial purpose. Children constructively occupied as learners permit their parents the freedom to earn a living and secure a home. This multitude of purposes and responsibilities often finds expression through the social and academic goals that principals and teachers set for their students.

Florence Barnhart's goals for Kirkland were shaped by the needs of her setting: a chaotic inner-city school with a reputation for violence, low student performance, and lack of community support. Her objectives were realistic, aimed at establishing order, improving the school's reputation, and turning Kirkland into an institution where effective learning could begin to take place.

Social Goals: Confronted by a myriad of problems and pressured by the community and district to improve Kirkland's reputation, Barnhart chose to dedicate the first two years of her tenure as principal to the creation of a stable, orderly environment. Reflecting on her arrival at Kirkland, she stated:

> I'm very aware of public opinion and what others think about the schools and the loss of confidence that people have in the school. . . . And I'm sensitive to that. But my goals are not based on what anybody else thinks. My goals are based on the need. And I saw [maintaining order] as a need two years ago when I came. Because I did say at that time that we have a lot of things to do, but my first priority will be to get this school under control and some discipline established within the school. (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 4-5)

As a consequence, she took a strong disciplinary stand, establishing and enforcing rules for student conduct, tightening campus security to keep out intruders, and transferring older and extreme problem students to high schools or other institutions. Kirkland's student population was gradually brought under control to the point where an environment conducive to learning could be maintained (TI, 9/10/82, p. 6). With this improvement, Barnhart was then able to relax her authoritarian approach and let her warmth and concern for students emerge as she continued to monitor and manage student discipline.

Although teachers' comments indicated they shared Barnhart's goal of maintaining order, their concerns as teachers went beyond discipline to include the development of their students as individuals. Many of the social goals discussed by teachers fell within the personal affective domain. One said she wanted her students to develop "self-esteem" and the "poise and grace to communicate with others," and to "gain confidence through competence" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 1); another said he wanted to "make 'em feel good about themselves" (TI, 5/13/83, p. 1); yet another said she tried to build character and help her students "take pride in themselves and what they've created" (TI, 3/22/83, p. 1). Some teachers emphasized social expectations: "responsibility," "respect for other people and other people's property," "an awareness of what's going on," "tolerance of things that they find different from themselves" (TI, 5/20/83, p. 1); "a sense of order" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 1); "how to behave . . . in this society" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 1); and "citizenship" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 1). One teacher stated that he wanted "to make sure [students] become responsible young adults also in life, not only in the classroom setting," and continued to explain how this goal could become an "extension from school which will carry on until their adulthood in the real world" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 1). A teacher in the Reentry program at Kirkland, which was designed for students who had poor attendance patterns, said:

> I've discovered that a lot of the reasons why students do not attend school has to do with their image of themselves as kids and as students; for a lot of kids, they--their image of themselves does not fit inside the school. . . . I think also . . . in each kid's

> individual way [we need] to somehow have them establish in their mind their own personal connection to the educational process. . . . I really do believe that kids in their own unsophisticated way can start to develop an idea of how they as a person can relate to an educational institution for some reason that serves their purpose. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 1)

Academic Goals: After two years of effort, Barnhart had succeeded in bringing about the discipline and order she believed to be necessary at Kirkland. Discussing the necessity of a positive climate, she also indicated her awareness of a need to accomplish more:

> [A good] school climate meant being able to walk into the school and feeling safe and not having people hanging from the ceiling. So we have that kind of school climate now. But I want students to learn now. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 17)

Thus, beginning her third year as Kirkland's principal, Barnhart knew that she must begin to address learning (TI, 9/10/82, p. 3).

Accomplishing academic goals was complicated by the fact that over half of Kirkland's students were classified as Educationally Disadvantaged Youth (TI, 9/10/82, p. 10). On the 1982 CTBS, 77% of Kirkland's seventh graders, 73% of the eighth graders, and 82% of the ninth graders scored below the 50th percentile in reading and language arts. Percentages for math were also dismal: 57%, 63%, and 74% of the seventh, eighth, and ninth graders scored below the 50th percentile (Evaluation Report, 1981-82, p. 7). Understanding the difficulty of the task, Barnhart nevertheless insisted on attempting to improve student achievement:

> The bottom line for all of us is to teach kids. And we must improve our math and reading achievement with students. Because our students are so far behind because--and I don't blame anybody for this--because students come to us, computing and reading below grade level. Unfortunately, we have many students who are reading at the third-grade level, the fourth-grade level. So my goals are centered around the needs of students and what they will need in order to be successful as adults. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 3)

At the first faculty meeting of Barnhart's third year at the school, the principal announced her goal to improve math and reading achievement, stating that it would be her top priority for the year. She explained that her goal also responded to a mandate from the superintendent. To accomplish that goal, Barnhart then specified three objectives: Teachers would spend three days each week working with students on computation, writing, and comprehension; they were to improve school climate by improving classroom motivation; and there would be an effort to improve teacher preparation (FN, 9/8/82, pp. 3-4). The general motto for the year, she concluded, was "striving for excellence" (FN, 9/8/82, p. 6).

Most of the teachers who were later interviewed agreed that Barnhart's third-year goals focused on raising test scores and trying to bring students up to grade level (TI, 2/15/83, p. 13; TI, 5/13/83, p. 5; TI, 5/20/83, p. 4; TI, 5/26/83, p. 4; TI, 5/26/83, p. 5). Yet when teachers were asked what their individual goals included, few specifically emphasized raising test scores. Instead, they spoke more generally about their aims. Typical goals were to: "have every child be successful" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 1); have students "really become in tune to themselves and see their true capabilities" (TI, 6/2/83, p. 1); "take that student as far as he can go" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 1); "create an environment wherein my students can achieve beyond their capacity" (TI, 5/13/83, p. 1); "make sure that they obtain all the concepts that are necessary for them" in the subject of study (TI, 4/27/83, p. 1); "stimulate [the student] to go further at will or to have him relatively comfortable with the subject" (TI, 3/22/83, p. 1).

The failure of teachers to adopt Barnhart's goals to raise test scores may reflect the staff's awareness of how difficult it would be to achieve measurable academic improvement. One teacher commented that many of her students were not prepared to handle her curriculum and that she had to deal with more problems than she had in the past to "get down to instruction" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 4). Another teacher argued that the school itself was poorly equipped to deal with Kirkland's student population:

> You need to provide kids with learning and educational opportunities and activities that meet their needs and approach the kid at the level where the child is, not where they're supposed to be. . . . Because [of the way in which] the institution is set up, that doesn't give a teacher the possibility to do that with their students. You have 35 in a classroom and you're responsible to teach eighth-grade history. What do you do to the 20 to 30 percent of the kids who cannot deal with the materials? (TI, 2/15/83, p. 3)

Queried about their principal's long-term goals for Kirkland, staff members differed in their perceptions of Barnhart's emphasis. A number of teachers confirmed that now that it was the principal's third year her goal would be to concentrate on the academic program (TI, 4/27/83, p. 5), "get down to some serious education" (TI, 5/13/83, p. 4), and "pull Kirkland back up to the ranks of [other local] schools" (TI, 6/2/83, p. 9). One teacher believed that the principal "wants kids to learn and know and enjoy it while they're doing it" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 5). Other comments were more general; one teacher saw Barnhart as "trying to uplift all the derogatory or negative things that have been said about Kirkland," to "get the [positive reputation] that Kirkland deserves at this particular time" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 4).

Yet despite Barnhart's clearly stated aim to improve achievement, other teachers saw the maintenance of safety and order as their principal's primary long-range goal (TI, 2/15/83, p. 11; TI, 2/17/83, p. 7; TI, 4/27/83, p. 5; TI, 5/13/83, p. 4). At least three speculated that Barnhart would not be at Kirkland very much longer to carry out any goals, academic or otherwise (TI, 2/15/83, p. 13; TI, 2/17/83, p. 7; TI, 5/13/83, p. 4). One teacher said:

> I really get the feeling that the whole area of discipline and structure and order is really pretty much set up now, and now the long-range goals really would tend to concentrate much more on improving the academic program . . . [but] . . . I don't think Dr. Barnhart will be here very much longer. I think that Kirkland is a step in a ladder going up, and I think that when she came here, it was under that kind of assumption . . . that a year or two from now, she will be going on to the next level. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 13)

Another said, "I'm a little suspicious that she doesn't have long-range goals for herself here" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 7). These suspicions were borne out, as Barnhart was indeed assigned to the principalship of a high school at the end of the year (Doc., 6/83). And our observations did not reveal other strategies by Barnhart for improving achievement other than her goal statements at the beginning of the 1982-83 school year.

Despite these varied views of school goals, Barnhart's stated institutional goals and teachers' classroom goals demonstrated a shared awareness of the important link between the social milieu of the school and the academic achievement of students. Principal and teachers understood that students could not learn effectively unless they were provided with a safe and orderly environment in which their emotional and social needs were taken into account. Kirkland's staff further acknowledged the need to begin helping children develop a more positive attitude toward school and an understanding that schooling could help them prepare for a better future. As the reader will note in the pages that follow, however, these beliefs were rarely translated into action at Kirkland Junior High.

The following sections describe how the principal and staff of Kirkland Junior High strove to implement their goals. In previous work, we identified climate and instructional organization as avenues along which principals could work to shape and improve their schools (Bossert et al., 1982). During our collaborative field work with principals, we continued to find these two concepts helpful in organizing the multitude of events, processes, and structures that we encountered in schools. Our definitions, however, changed to accommodate our expanding experiences. Again, the importance of these two concepts to our study of the instructional management role of principals is that they illuminate many of the strategies employed by our principals to accomplish the goals they established for their schools.

Kirkland's Instructional Climate

In our study, we treat school climate (a notion embraced by all of our participating principals) as an observable and changeable characteristic of schools. For our principals, climate encompassed both physical and social elements. Changing a school's climate could mean anything from painting walls to organizing the way students lined up at recess. The comprehensiveness of the concept can be grasped from one principal's comment: "School climate starts at the curb." In general, our principals perceived climate as a diverse set of properties that would communicate to students that schools are pleasant but serious work places designed to help students achieve. In the following account of Kirkland's instructional climate we will describe: a) the physical aspects of the school plant that promote or hinder the accomplishment of social and academic goals at the school; b) the social curriculum--activities designed to promote positive relationships within the school, student self-esteem, and productive attitudes toward learning; c) the school's discipline program; and d) the nature of the interrelationships among all members of the Kirkland learning community.

Physical Components: Kirkland was in many ways a typical inner-city school. Situated in a low-income, run-down neighborhood, its institutional-looking buildings and barren, asphalt playing fields were more tidy than the surrounding area, but hardly inviting. Chain link fences surrounded the facility, and doors and gates were kept locked--measures aimed at separating the school from the rest of the community.

Many of Barnhart's actions during her tenure at Kirkland had been directed toward enforcing this boundary between school and neighborhood. When she had arrived, intruders were often found inside the school; in some instances, students who were engaged in fights would call in friends and relatives to help them. Students also loitered on the streets and in businesses around the school instead of attending classes (I, 10/15/82, p. 1).

To keep intruders out and students in, Barnhart had instituted a closed-campus policy, which meant that during the day, all gates and doors were locked except for one in the main building near the administrative offices. Students could not leave campus during the school day without a pass. Four campus supervisors patrolled the campus and the surrounding streets to disperse loiterers and make sure students went to class. In addition, the local police were cooperative about patrolling the area and responding to the school's requests for assistance (TI, 9/10/82, p. 9). Despite these efforts, however, occasional intruders still created problems on the school grounds, and students still scaled the fence behind the school, often on their way to the neighborhood grocery store (FN, 9/30/82, p. 4).

Once Barnhart had established control of Kirkland's buildings and grounds, her actions concerning the physical plant were limited to such routine behaviors as dealing with the overcrowding at the beginning of the year and with a few maintenance issues (FN, 10/1/82, p. 10; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 3, 9). For the most part, except in the area of maintaining control over the school's students, Kirkland's physical components did not significantly affect Barnhart's work during the year of this study. Nevertheless, Kirkland Junior High School was a stringently patrolled, locked environment, where security was an ongoing issue for the principal and her staff.

Social Curriculum: A staff's level of commitment to, and concern about, children is communicated through their words, mannerisms, actions, and activities. These cues, conscious or not, may influence students' perceptions of their own efficacy and of their "belongingness" within their school and classroom communities (Brookover et al., 1973; Fuller, Wood, Rapoport, & Dornbusch, 1981; Getzels & Thelen, 1960). These aspects of school climate are part of the social curriculum of a school. Most of our participants believed that this curriculum was important in attaining the school's social and academic goals.

Teachers and principals often think about social curriculum in terms of discipline programs or extracurricular and structured activities in which children assume responsibility and exercise some authority. Student councils or student aides are examples of activities that might be included under the social curriculum. In addition, teachers may give children classroom time to share personal problems or individual successes with their peers. Teachers might also use classroom activities to promote social goals for children. This section explores several aspects of Kirkland's social curriculum and discusses how each supports or hinders the school's social and academic goals.

Although there was no formal policy at Kirkland for developing social curriculum, students' individual and social development was clearly a major concern for both the principal and the school's teachers. Because of the problems presented by Kirkland's student population, much of this attention was directed toward the area of discipline. (Kirkland's discipline program is addressed in the following section.) Barnhart and her staff, however, had broader expectations for students' behavior, which they communicated in a variety of ways.

Student assemblies for each grade level at the beginning of the school year gave Barnhart and her staff an opportunity to convey their behavioral and attitudinal expectations for students. At these assemblies, Barnhart described the school rules in detail to the students and explained the consequences for breaking them, stressing cooperation and responsibility. For example, she said the lunch lines would move faster if students cooperated with each other by not cutting ahead, and she told them to clean up after themselves after lunch as if they were in their own homes. She told the ninth graders that she hoped they would demonstrate a willingness to help their school by showing the seventh and eighth graders how to behave (FN, 9/24/82, pp. 2-3).

Her themes were echoed by other staff members who spoke at the assemblies. The assistant principal for administration related the consequences of a student's irresponsible behavior in the community, told the ninth graders they should take responsibility for leadership, and said that in the upcoming student elections they should elect students who would be examples of scholarship and citizenship (FN, 9/24/82, p. 4). At the eighth-grade assembly, which was noticeably more disorderly, one teacher told students to have respect for themselves and others, another talked about good behavior and setting a good example for the seventh graders, while another threatened them if they misbehaved and said she would tolerate no interference with her classroom authority (FN, 9/24/82, pp. 6-7).

Barnhart made it clear to students at the assemblies that she would enforce these expectations for students quickly and consistently. When a counselor was greeted with boos as well as applause at the ninth-grade assembly, Barnhart took that opportunity to remind the students of their responsibility to listen courteously and show respect for anyone who addressed them (FN, 9/24/82, p. 3); when a teacher who had a reputation for being strict was booed, Barnhart chided students, telling them that the instructor's stern approach led to a safe learning environment in his classroom (FN, 9/24/82, p. 7). At the beginning of the assembly, two students who had misbehaved were separated from the rest and made to stand throughout the session in the front of the auditorium (FN, 9/24/82, p. 6).

Such consistency between Barnhart's words and her actions was demonstrated throughout the school year in her frequent interactions with individual students in the hallways, on the grounds, and in the cafeteria. In these encounters, she frequently focused on responsible behavior: As she moved from group to group in the cafeteria, for example, Barnhart encouraged students to clean up after themselves and reminded them of their lunchtime responsibilities (FN, 9/13/82, p. 13); observing a boy thanking another for clearing up after his group, the principal said to the first boy, "Now, you do the same for him tomorrow" (FN, 5/11/83, p. 2).

Barnhart was as quick to praise students for appropriate behavior as she was to admonish them for misbehavior; both her words and her actions conveyed warmth and concern for students as individuals. At the ninth-grade assembly, she expressed pleasure at the students' quick response when she called for order (FN, 9/24/82, p. 2). While cruising the halls and campus, she frequently greeted students by name, asked cordially how they were, and joked with them (FN, 9/13/82, p. 7; FN, 9/30/82, p. 2; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 2, 10; FN, 2/10/83, p. 2). On the first day of classes, she hugged a student, asked her what she had done that summer, and encouraged her to continue doing good work (FN, 9/13/82, p. 3); when greeting a problem student, she warmly asked him about his summer and talked to him about his behavior problems, telling him he would be watched closely that year and asking if he understood what was expected of him (FN, 9/13/82, p. 5). Later in the year, she told a favored student, "I'm so proud of you, you haven't been in my office all year" (FN, 10/18/82, p. 6).

Schoolwide programs to encourage good behavior and academic diligence included honor rolls for both citizenship and high grades, certificates for good behavior, and special honors assemblies at the end of each semester (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II; SFI, 2/22/83, p. 5; SFI, 3/1/83, p. 5; SFI, 3/22/83, p. 5; SFI, 4/27/83, p. 5; SFI, 4/27/83, p. 5; SFI, 5/13/83, p. 5; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 5; SFI, 5/26/83, p. 5; SFI, 6/3/83, p. 5). Social goals were also promoted through extracurricular activities, such as the student council, art club, journalism club, pep squad, and daily basketball, softball, and football games (IOI, 5/13/83, Part I). School activities had been limited in the past due to student misconduct, but were on the increase as the school became more orderly; at the ninth-grade assembly, Barnhart announced that she would consider reinstating dances, which had been eliminated during the previous year because of student misbehavior and the presence of nonstudents (FN, 9/24/82, pp. 4-5). She also discussed with one student the possibility of having a yearbook again if the quality could be improved and financial losses minimized (FN, 9/24/82, p. 4). Problems were clearly still present, however: An eighth-grade honors assembly that year was cancelled due to student unruliness (FN, 2/17/83, p. 1).

Among teachers at Kirkland, social curriculum was most emphasized by one teacher in the Re-entry program. Recognizing the connection between affective and academic concerns, he described his program as one that concentrated on counseling to try to clear away "some of those blocks that are in the way of the kid being able to learn and think" (TI, 2/15/83, p. 3).

Although few teachers at Kirkland had as focused a social curriculum as the Re-entry program, a number of them worked to help their students develop self-esteem and social responsibility through a variety of means. One business teacher said she conveyed her expectations for student conduct through the academic curriculum:

> I try to teach students how to behave, what is expected of him in this society. I don't do

> anything special, in a sense, yes, I do something special; but it's all tied in with curriculum and I put it in when I find that there's a good place for me to plug. Then I plug what I need and I try to be an example first. (TI, 5/26/83, p. 1)

Some used class discussions as a means of dealing with affective and behavioral concerns: One teacher talked to her students every day about how they felt (TI, 4/27/83, p. 1), while another discussed with students such matters as responsibility and tolerance (TI, 5/20/83, p. 1).

Several teachers saw themselves promoting social goals by their attitudes as teachers. One said:

> I think my students know that I care about my job, I expect them to care about their job. I think that they know that I'm serious, that I'm doing the best that I can, and I expect them to do the best that they can. And I have enthusiasm for my job, and I hope they have enthusiasm for theirs. (TI, 5/13/83, p. 1)

Another said he wanted to create "an emotion inside that classroom [so] that the kid senses, 'This person really cares about me'" (TI, 2/15/83, p. 2).

Others supplemented their curriculum with outside speakers who could serve as role models. One math teacher brought in resource people from the community to speak to students about mathematics, engineering, and health sciences (TI, 6/2/83, p. 2). An English teacher often brought her grandmother into class to teach students not to be ashamed of the nonstandard English they spoke at home (FN, 3/22/83, p. 5).

An art teacher focused on "character building" and was a strong advocate of students displaying their work. She explained her strategy:

> They take pride in themselves and what they've created, and regardless of whatever it is, as long as it's finished and they've accomplished whatever the topic was successfully, then I display their work. And I found that basically it encourages other students because generally what happens is I have one kid who has a cousin in another class, he's a seventh grader, and he's taking the class also. He'll come in and say, "Oh, that's my cousin's work!" You know, so it makes him see his friend or his family member in a whole different light, and it just kind of motivates. (TI, 3/22/83, p. 1)

Several other staff members said they used positive interactions with students to shape student behavior and convey a sense of students' self-worth. A business teacher tried to instill pride and self-respect in her students by complimenting them on their successes rather than criticizing their failures.

> When I give instructions for learning, I always go back to students who are listening, who are responding to questions, who are following through, [and I] always point that out, how happy I am that you were listening and that's a good question that you just asked. . . . And I find that other students would like to hear that same thing, so they too will listen the next time. (TI, 5/26/83, pp. 1-2)

Another found that giving low achievers a lot of love directly affected their school performance (FN, 3/22/83, p. 4). A P.E. teacher believed that in order for to students to learn, she had to treat them "first as a person" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 1).

Although teaching to small groups within classes was an infrequent instructional strategy at Kirkland, two teachers who used it said they did so in part to encourage cooperation between students or to help develop a student's sense of responsibility (FN, 2/17/83, p. 5; FN, 4/26/83, p. 2).

Most teachers indicated that Barnhart had not influenced their social curriculum. Only one said that the principal's calm way of dealing with a chaotic situation when she came to the school had caused her to rethink her own manner of dealing with students. Upon observing Barnhart, this teacher said:

> Well, I'm going to try a different approach this year. I'm going to try to basically be more humane with [my students]. I'm going to try to really stress the respect and the humane element. (TI, 3/22/83, pp. 8-9)

In conclusion, although there was, on the whole, no organized attempt to provide students with a social curriculum at Kirkland, attempts were made by Barnhart and her staff to develop students' self-esteem and to teach social responsibility. However, observations by our fieldworker indicated that teachers' attitudes and actions were sometimes counterproductive, conveying messages to students that did not enhance their emotional and social development. (See the section on "Interrelationships" below for a discussion of this issue.) And the bulk of the efforts by Barnhart and her staff were directed toward the goal of simply maintaining discipline, which is discussed in the next section.

Discipline: Although the administrators and teachers in our study included discipline as an important part of a school's social curriculum, the emphasis that they placed on the topic underlies our decision to give student discipline its own section in this report. In giving prominence to the question of discipline, the participants in our study were acting in accord with opinions expressed by scholars throughout the history of American education. William T. Harris (1908), for example, linked school discipline to the "moral education" of the country's children; Abraham Maslow (1954) theorized that children must feel secure--the consequence of being in a safe environment--before they can devote energy and attention to higher order learning; and recently, and just as emphatically, researchers of effective schools have added their voices to the continuing concern about student deportment (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971; Wynne, 1981).

Discipline policy at Kirkland was enacted within the framework of Everett district policy. The latter enumerated three categories of disruptive behavior, each successively more severe, and outlined a sequence of actions for each type, ranging from conferences to suspensions and district hearings (Doc., n.d.). This policy, however, allowed room for interpretation by school principals, and Barnhart and her staff exercised discretion in handling discipline, taking into account the problems presented by Kirkland's student population. District discipline policies, therefore, were supplemented by a school site policy determined by Kirkland's administrative staff and by individual teachers' classroom policies (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

We have described the chaos that prevailed at Kirkland when Barnhart arrived two years prior to this study. Barnhart herself said:

> The image of the school was very negative. Kids were not coming to the school. There was a big attendance problem. No learning was taking place because there was too much chaos in the classroom. People were just in motion and it was not a school. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 5)

The assistant principal for administration, who had come to the school midway during Barnhart's first year at the principal's request, said that when he arrived students had to be members of a gang for their own protection; there were 10 or 15 gangs who had fights in the hallways, and some students would call on family and friends from outside the school to help them if they were jumped on. In addition, he said, students smoked marijuana in the hallways and classrooms and loitered in front of the school during class time (I, 10/15/82, pp. 1-2).

Barnhart's first action was to establish such basic rules as requiring students to walk to the right in the hall so people could pass each other, to keep their voices down, and to not go to their lockers between periods (TI, 9/10/82, p. 5). Broader measures included finding other placements for older and problem students, and closing the campus to keep students in and intruders out (TI, 9/10/82, p. 6). The assistant principal for administration claimed that locking down the campus was his recommendation, and he added that some intruders found in the school were arrested and "locked up." Even surrounding streets, he said, were patrolled by school staff to disperse students who had regularly collected there to have fights (I, 10/15/82, pp. 1-2).

Barnhart said it took "over a year to establish some sense of direction within the school" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 6), but she felt that they had succeeded to the point where people weren't "hanging from the ceiling" and students could begin to learn (TI, 9/10/82, p. 17). One teacher shared his view of Barnhart's major achievement:

> I think there is a lot more teaching going on. There's a lot less disruptions. There is not a sense of the school out of control, held literally hostage by its students. I think there's much more of a sense of this is a school where the adults are in charge and the students come and I think that's a real big change in general. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 10)

Students as well were aware of the change: One boy told Barnhart that Kirkland was nothing but a jail because there were too many rules (I, 5/11/83, p. 4). Barnhart said she was pleased by the remark, as it meant that she could defuse potentially violent situations, that students felt safe, and that teachers could do their jobs without fear of violence (I, 5/11/83, p. 4). In essence, the boy's comment indicated to the principal that she had done the job she came to Kirkland to do: get the school under control.

Barnhart worked to maintain the discipline she had established with the help of a staff consisting of two assistant principals and four campus supervisors. The assistant principal for administration (APA) was responsible for campus supervision and for the campus supervisors, and most of the staff interacted with him over disciplinary issues (I, 10/15/82, p. 1; TI, 4/27/83, p. 7; TI, 4/27/83, p. 7; TI, 5/26/83, p. 9). In addition, he sometimes patrolled the grounds and neighboring streets himself (I, 10/15/82, p. 1). The principal strongly supported the APA and his efforts; she talked with him often throughout the day about discipline matters (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 9, 14, 22; FN, 10/18/82, p. 1) and had lunch with him and the Chapter 1 director daily as members of her "management team" (FN, 9/30/82, pp. 5-8; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 6-8).

She also interacted frequently with the campus supervisors, who patrolled Kirkland's grounds and the neighboring streets to make sure that intruders were ousted and that loitering students were sent to class. Like the APA, the campus supervisors brought problems to Barnhart's attention throughout the day, either coming to her office or calling for her attention as she roved through the school (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 6, 9, 12; FN, 9/30/82, pp. 6, 9, 11, 12, 13; FN, 10/1/82, p. 2; FN, 10/18/82, p. 3; FN, 2/10/83, p. 9; FN, 5/11/83, pp. 3, 13).

Barnhart communicated her expectations to faculty for student discipline at a faculty meeting before the school year began. Here she reminded teachers how the school had been when she had arrived two years earlier, emphasized her commitment to having an orderly school, and reiterated her support for faculty by saying that disruptive students would be sent to other schools. She also reviewed the teachers' handbook, paying special attention to discipline, to give staff ample opportunity to familiarize themselves with procedures. The principal stressed that students must know what is expected of them. In addition, she asked that a school climate committee be established, composed of faculty members who would have the responsibility to suggest ways of improving the school's social milieu (FN, 9/8/82, pp. 3-5).

Kirkland's principal also communicated her expectations to teachers in informal conversations. For example, she talked to one new teacher about the discipline problems he was having, suggesting that he talk to his department chair and that they continue discussing the problem later (FN, 9/13/82, p. 21); she discussed lax attitudes in the P.E. department with an English teacher (FN, 5/11/83, p. 7); and she talked to a math teacher about two students whom he had seen sneaking off campus (FN, 5/11/83, p. 4). On a more formal basis, after Barnhart visited the classroom of a teacher who was having problems maintaining discipline, she wrote a memo to the teacher giving explicit directions for handling discipline problems (FN, 10/1/82, p. 6).

Expectations for proper deportment were also made clear to students at the beginning of the year in grade-level assemblies. To each group, Barnhart explained school rules and the consequences for breaking those rules. She emphasized that students who misbehaved would be suspended, with a parent conference required to return, and that students who continued breaking the rules would be expelled (FN, 9/24/82, pp. 1-7). As we said earlier, these assemblies also gave other administrators, counselors, and teachers an opportunity to tell students what they expected of them, too.

Barnhart believed it was important for her to be visible to students to help maintain order. This was one reason why she took an active role in the first day's registration process (FN, 9/13/82, p. 6). As she walked through the halls and the cafeteria on that day, for example, she directed some problem students to find their classes; talked to another about what she expected of him that year; told a student who was no longer registered at Kirkland to leave; told a student to remove his hat; ordered some nonstudents out of the building; and took two boys who had been running around campus all day to the APA for suspension (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 3-10).

Such interactions with students were an important part of Barnhart's work day. Although campus supervision was the responsiblity of the APA and the campus supervisors, Barnhart could often be found patrolling the grounds, monitoring students' behavior, speaking to individual students, or defusing potential conflicts. When she was short of staff, she personally supervised the cafeteria at lunchtime, her manner friendly yet firm (FN, 9/13/82, p. 15; FN, 10/18/82, p. 1).

Barnhart also supervised Kirkland's after-school detention program, which had been organized primarily by a long-term substitute; before that time, teachers had arranged their own detention (SO, 4/27/83, p. 1). The principal signed all referral slips (TI, 4/27/83, p. 6), and at least some students came to her office for detention. In one case, she had students sweep and dust her office (FN, 10/18/82, pp. 10-11). She had found this a convenient way to compensate for layoffs in the custodial force; after lunch, students swept the main halls, and after school, they cleaned other parts of the facility (FN, 10/18/82, p. 11).

All teachers who were interviewed agreed that the school climate had improved greatly in the past few years and acknowledged that Barnhart was largely responsible for that improvement (TI, 2/15/83, p. 10; TI, 2/17/83, p. 5; TI, 4/27/83, p. 4; TI, 5/13/83, p. 4). Some teachers, however, did not like the way discipline was handled at the school, particularly by the assistant principal for administration; although some teachers saw him as very effective (TI, 4/27/83, p. 7; TI, 5/26/83, p. 9), others disliked him (I, 10/15/82, pp. 2-4). One teacher in particular criticized the APA's approach:

> Now he and I have locked horns since day one. I don't agree with the man, and I don't see him as the kind of educator that I . . . respect or want to emulate in any sense. And I see her defending him, and I think that he fulfills certain needs that she has as an administrator. I think he makes a great henchman, but at the cost of foul language, at the cost of disrespect towards students, at the cost of respect by other teachers for that team, in a sense. It's very frustrating working with him. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 6)

Teachers also differed on whether they believed the administration took enough responsibility for classroom discipline. One teacher, who frequently referred students to the APA, said that he received consistent support (SO, 4/22/83, p. 5). Another commented that although she had written only four referrals in her 12 years at Kirkland, she felt Barnhart and her administrative staff supported her discipline efforts:

> I mean, I like to take care of my own discipline. But then it's nice to know that if you do write a referral, it's going to be

> taken care of. You've got all this positive reinforcement from all sides, which . . . makes a successful school. (TI, 5/26/83, p. 5)

Other teachers had different perceptions. At a meeting for new teachers early in the school year, two protested that they had to spend too much classroom time on discipline. Barnhart responded that teachers and the administration had to work together to give students the best environment in which to learn, and she commented to the observer later that that one of these teachers was going to be a problem for her (FN, 9/23/82, p. 4). The principal expected teachers to take responsibility for classroom discipline and disapproved of teachers who referred a great many students to the administrators; in one case, she documented a teacher who could not maintain classroom discipline (FN, 9/28/83, p. 10).

Another teacher believed that too much attention was focused on control at the school for teachers as well as students and felt her creativity was being stifled because of this overemphasis (SO, 5/18/83, p. 5).

Teachers varied widely in their individual beliefs concerning discipline. One teacher believed that creating an emotional relationship between teacher and student was an important factor in managing classroom climate (TI, 2/15/83, pp. 2-3). Another teacher worked to develop a humane approach to students, which she said was modeled on the principal's (TI, 3/22/83, p. 7). Another said she tried to give low achievers a lot of love, an approach she had learned from an in-service class on discipline, but she also stressed the importance of such habits as punctuality which she believed necessary for the job market (FN, 3/22/83, p. 4). Yet another used positive reinforcement (TI, 5/26/83, p. 1). On the other hand, some teachers clearly used an authoritarian approach to maintaining discipline (FN, 4/22/83, pp. 1-5; FN, 4/25/83, pp. 1-4). One teacher in particular had an intimidating way of relating to the students: He complained about students' personal hygiene, emphasized their mistakes and errors in judgment, shook his finger in one youth's face, and used harsh language to further intimidate his students (FN, 3/28/83, pp. 1, 3).

Teachers clearly spent a great deal of time and energy on classroom discipline. Many had to spend time quieting students down before instruction could begin (FN, 2/17/83, p. 1; FN, 3/10/83, p. 1; FN, 3/22/83, p. 1; FN, 4/22/83, p. 1), while some had trouble maintaining discipline throughout the instructional period (FN, 3/9/83, pp. 1-4; FN, 3/21/83, pp. 1-4). The necessity of trying to maintain discipline under difficult circumstances affected not only the time teachers had to teach but also the teaching strategies they used; a number of teachers indicated that they chose whole-class instruction and avoided instructional grouping because whole-class activities afforded a better method of control in the classroom (FN, 3/21/83, p. 4; SO, 4/25/83, p. 4; TI, 5/13/83, p. 1).

When students did misbehave, teachers used a wide variety of punishments: detention (FN, 2/17/83, p. 4; FN, 4/22/83, p. 1); making students stand in the hallway (FN, 3/22/83, p. 4; FN, 4/22/83, p. 3); detaining them for a few minutes after the period ended (FN, 2/17/83, p. 6); referring them to the main office (FN, 2/21/83, p. 2; FN, 4/26/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 3; SFI, 6/9/83, p. 3); assigning extra work (FN, 2/17/83, p. 4); isolating troublemakers by moving their seats (FN, 2/17/83, p. 4; SO, 3/28/83, p. 4); contacting parents (SFI, 3/1/83, p. 3; FN, 4/25/83, p. 3; SFI, 4/27/83, p. 3); or by holding conferences with parents, student, and counselor (SFI, 4/27/83, p. 3).

Although Barnhart was not generally involved in teachers' classroom discipline, she stepped in when the need arose. In one case, described in an earlier section, a teacher who consistently had problems controlling her class had asked Barnhart to speak to the class (FN, 9/30/82, pp. 9-10).

The result of this heavy emphasis on discipline by teachers and administrators at Kirkland was an orderly environment in which daily violence no longer occurred. During the year of this study, Barnhart's everyday actions were directed toward maintaining the order she had established. The routine actions we observed were not particularly heavy-handed, and it appeared that Barnhart was progressively able to let her pleasant demeanor show to students. It was clear, however, that the order imposed on the school had not been internalized by the students and that the need to focus on discipline had a strong influence on the quality of interactions between students and adults, which we will discuss in the next section.

Interrelationships: An important element of the climate of schools is the nature of the interrelationships among the members of the school community: the students, staff, and parents. The quality of these day-to-day relationships may be the best evidence of the cohesiveness of a group in its commitment to the organization's goals. Positive relationships among the stakeholders in a school demonstrate fundamental agreement and satisfaction with the means and ends of the organization--agreement that has an effect on the organization's ability to carry out its mission (see Homans, 1950; Janis, 1972; Maslow, 1954; Zander, 1977).

As we have described above, the school climate at Kirkland had improved greatly since Barnhart became principal. Relations among students had changed from being hostile and violent to being largely noncombative. While students had formerly felt it necessary to belong to a gang for their own protection and fights between members of those gangs had been a daily occurrence, these problems had been largely eliminated.

Students' comments indicated that most recognized the changes the school had undergone and the role the principal had played (TI, 5/5/83, p. 2; TI, 5/5/83, p. 3; TI, 5/5/83, p. 7; TI, 5/18/83, p. 3; TI, 5/24/83, p. 3; TI, 6/3/83, p. 2; TI, 6/8/83, p. 5). As one student pointed out, "people used to go around beating up people just for bumping into them," but now "this school has straightened up" (TI, 5/5/83, p. 4). Students saw Barnhart as a person who had made the school a better learning environment (TI, 5/5/83, p. 7) and had brought more activities and dances (TI, 6/3/83, p. 2); some said she set a good example for students (TI, 5/18/83, p. 2), helped them get out of trouble (TI, 5/5/83, p. 5), gave them faith in themselves to learn through expressing an interest in their progress (TI, 5/13/83, p. 3), and encouraged them to have pride in their own achievements (TI, 6/8/83, p. 3).

Relationships between students and teachers varied from nurturing to authoritarian. An example of the first was a teacher who believed that low-achieving students needed a lot of love; her interactions with students were cordial, and students in her class seemed involved and responsive, crowding around her when the class was over (FN, 3/22/83, pp. 1-6). This teacher made a point of explaining her feelings to her class, communicating, for example, when she was in a bad mood or wasn't feeling well. She described how, in one case, she yelled at a student and he started to cry; she took him into the hall where they talked about how their feelings had been hurt, then hugged each other, and finally returned to class (FN, 3/22/83, pp. 5-6).

Another teacher tried to be humane to her students and to treat them with respect, an approach she credited to Barnhart.

> I want to be able to talk with them the same way that I talk with any adult. . . . [O]nce in a while, I'll give them a little bit of drama. But basically, I touch them a little more. I give them individual compliments and there's more of a one-on-one, and I found that as a result of that, they're a little more receptive to me. (TI, 3/22/83, pp. 8-9)

At the other extreme was the intimidating teacher mentioned in "Social Curriculum." His other behaviors included listing on the board six reasons for student failure, reprimanding students for not doing their homework, and accusing students of copying work from others. Later, he told them that in the technological age, new equipment was going to replace humans, and he threatened them with future failure if they could not do the work he assigned. Students' fear of, and hostility toward, this teacher were evident by their behavior throughout the class: Before the period began, they went through the grade book and papers on his desk; the teacher had trouble establishing order; students were demonstrably reluctant to answer his questions; and when the bell rang to end the period, students left the room before he had finished talking (FN, 3/22/83, pp. 1-5). Barnhart had hired this teacher because of his reputation for being a strict disciplinarian, although she had known he had been dismissed from other schools in the district. She acknowledged that it had been a calculated risk and commented that she would have preferred to use him as a P.E. teacher, as he would be useful in keeping the playing fields clear of loitering students (SO, 3/22/83, pp. 5-6).

This emphasis by Barnhart and her staff on imposing strict expectations for student discipline resulted in an environment where most students were very aware of adult authority; the observer noted, for example, that one student removed his cap when he saw the observer in the hall, glancing at him over his shoulder (FN, 9/23/82, p. 2). One of the campus supervisors said that he thought students were constantly testing the supervisors to find out what they could get away with, and were primarily concerned with trying to find ways to get around the rules (FN, 9/23/82, p. 2). One student commented that the school was like a jail because there were too many rules, which, as we mentioned earlier, was taken by Barnhart as a compliment (I, 5/11/83, p. 4).

Although students generally complied with the requests of the campus supervisors and the assistant principal for administration (APA), in some instances they reacted with anger: When a campus supervisor asked a girl for her pass, she reacted angrily and yelled at him; in response, the campus supervisor whispered to her that the next time she yelled at him when he asked for her pass, he was going to send her to the office to be suspended (FN, 9/28/82, p. 2). When students became disrespectful to another campus supervisor after he confronted them, he reported the incident to Barnhart, who called the youngsters' parents (FN, 10/1/82, p. 2). The manner of the APA was often abusive: When questioning boys who had attacked another student, the APA threatened to call their parents and to "[get] rid of you thugs" (FN, 9/28/82, p. 8). The APA admitted that he made mistakes in dealing with students; he said that some began to cry when he yelled at them, and that he had received calls from parents complaining about his approach, which he called a "crisis management" style (I, 10/15/82, p. 5).

One consequence of the supervisors' heavy-handed approach was that it helped Barnhart relate with students in more positive ways. Although Barnhart said that she had been authoritarian in her first two years at Kirkland, our observer saw little evidence that she still had to "crack heads." She was always firm in her dealings with students and could respond to them in their own language, as when she told one student who had threatened another, "If you kick his ass, I will kick yours" (FN, 10/18/82, p. 2). Most often, however, her reprimands were patient, stern warnings that communicated that she would not tolerate disobedience (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 3, 7, 14; FN, 9/30/82, pp. 2, 11).

Most often, however, as she walked through the halls and patrolled the grounds during lunch, she greeted students cordially by name, asked how they were doing, and chatted with them, often jokingly (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 3, 4; FN, 9/30/82, pp. 1-3, 13; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 2, 10). She frequently gave reminders for appropriate behavior (FN, 9/13/82, p. 14; FN, 10/18/82, p. 6) and sometimes used the opportunity to discuss a student's past behavior problems (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 5, 13; FN, 10/18/82, p. 1).

When disputes concerning students arose, Barnhart was capable of seeing the students' viewpoints, even if it meant contravening members of her staff. For example, a campus supervisor brought in a student who had been caught leaving a class and who complained that students never had anything to do in that class. Barnhart told the supervisor that the problem lay not with the student but in the fact that a noncredentialled substitute was teaching the class as the regular teacher was out for the remainder of the year. Although the supervisor was angry, Barnhart did not punish the student (FN, 5/11/83, p. 13). In another example, when a student, near tears, confronted the principal with the fact that the cafeteria had run out of food, Barnhart sent him back to the cafeteria and arranged for him to get something to eat (FN, 9/24/82, p. 12).

Thus, administrative staff and faculty at Kirkland interacted with students in a wide range of styles, from the harsh and abusive to the warm and understanding. And just as Kirkland's students experienced a lack of consistency in their interactions with adults, the school's staff also experienced a range of interactive styles. This seemed to be due in part to the fact that Barnhart herself did not appear to treat her staff consistently.

Teachers at Kirkland seemed to be divided into factions, although there was no clear evidence about what determined membership or whether Barnhart's and other staff members' perceptions of these groups coincided. Barnhart saw staff members as divided into three groups, based on their self-interest and needs:

> There are those people on the staff who are very creative. They're going to do a good job anyway, regardless. And I'm glad that we have a number of them. Then there are the middle-of-the-road people. The people who just want to do enough to get by, they're going to do their job. And they need to be somehow motivated to do that. So I have to work with them. Then there are the destroyers--that's what I call them. People who are not going to do anything and you have to stay on them and you have to work with them, provide support for them, but no matter what you do, they're not going to do anything anyway. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 15)

She said she tried hard to identify the groups and their members (FN, 10/1/82, p. 11), and she tried to cultivate a group of people whom she could depend on to get the job done (TI, 9/10/82, p. 16; FN, 10/18/82, p. 4).

Teachers' comments indicated they recognized this practice; one teacher commented:

> I think that there's a real inner and an outer circle in the school as far as the staff and the classified and the administration goes. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 10)

She said that Barnhart had encouraged and promoted some teachers toward administrative work, but not her (TI, 2/17/83, p. 9). A slightly differing view was presented by another teacher:

> This is really conjecture. But I think that there are some people who think that they are Florence Barnhart's ears--not through her request. And I think there are people who I think like to go to her and stir things up, thinking that that will make them closer to her. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 19)

The teacher who felt she was not part of Barnhart's "inner circle" claimed that Barnhart's actions themselves acted to divide the faculty, citing the principal's dealings with a faculty committee the year before. She said that Barnhart did not respond clearly or sensitively to faculty suggestions.

> Basically, [Barnhart] decided to be imperial. In a sense that "this is the way it is and you don't need to understand it, or you don't even [have to] know about it; this is an administrative decision and that's that, amen." On issues when teachers felt they should be more involved and have a little bit more to say . . . they were shut off. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 6)

Other teachers, however, were ardent Barnhart supporters, and interpreted her actions in a positive light. One teacher credited her for "support" and said:

> She always gives a lot of very positive information, uplifting stuff that she'll include in a bulletin or just as part of the information we get through the week. . . . Sometimes it may be the only positive thing that we get all day, and I think that's important that you exchange as much positive energy as you possibly can. (TI, 3/22/83, p. 6)

Several teachers indicated that Barnhart had actively fostered their professional development. One teacher said that Barnhart discussed administrative matters with him, asking him what he would do under the circumstances, and also assigned him administrative responsibilities while she was absent (TI, 2/15/83, pp. 14-16). Another said:

> Florence has probably awarded me with the opportunity to do a lot of things that I feel I'm capable of. I'm basically, by nature, I'm an organizer. . . . And she gives me the motivation I need. Like okay, for Black History Month, like I had to get all those people together and just pull it off and she was just supportive all the way. (TI, 3/22/83, p. 9)

Other teachers acknowledged Barnhart's favoritism while appreciating her skill at dealing with teachers. One said he had turned to Barnhart in response to negative interactions with his colleagues:

> As far as my department goes, I feel they've treated me absolutely shitty. I feel that they've dumped things on me and [when] I've made them successful, then they've taken them away from me. (TI, 5/13/83, p. 6)

He said that despite the effort he had put in, others in his department were "into protecting their own sphere of influence and they pretended to listen but they really don't get anything done" (TI, 5/13/83, p. 6). In contrast, he said of Barnhart:

> [She] wants to do the right thing. She does listen, and she's pretty fair--not all the time and not with everybody, but I have to give her credit with me. (TI, 5/13/83, pp. 6-7)

This same teacher met with Barnhart late in the school year on his own initiative to discuss ways he thought the English department could be improved, and Barnhart indicated to him that she was considering assigning him the departmental chairmanship (FN, 5/11/83, p. 7). Another teacher said:

> I think that she has to look at us individually, and I think she's shrewd. I think she does a relatively good job at that. You know, she doesn't treat everybody the same, and I don't think that she should. I think that she does a good job. (TI, 5/20/83, p. 4)

All teachers, however, agreed that the school had come a long way from its earlier days. Even though some had specific personality clashes with the administrative staff, they seemed, in general, to be satisfied with the way the school was being run

(TI, 2/15/83, p. 10; TI, 3/22/83, pp. 6-7; TI, 4/27/83, pp. 5-9; TI, 5/26/83, pp. 6-7; TI, 5/26/83, p. 3; TI, 6/2/83, p. 7).

Barnhart's interactions with teachers were cordial. As with students, she chatted with them in a friendly manner and asked how things were going (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 5, 6, 14, 21; FN, 9/30/82, p. 4). She also took an active role in communicating with new teachers at the beginning of the year, discussing discipline problems (FN, 9/13/82, p. 21), talking over changes in class schedules (FN, 9/13/82, p. 21), and removing an English class from the schedule of a teacher whose native language was not English (FN, 9/30/82, p. 4).

Tensions among the staff, however, were a reality that Barnhart responded to in various ways. At a faculty meeting at the beginning of the year, she told teachers some classes would be overenrolled, but that the assistant principal for instruction would work to correct the problem. Several teachers then challenged her, stating that their collective bargaining agreement did not allow them to teach classes over a certain size. Barnhart responded calmly by asking them to be patient until the problem was corrected, and as teachers began talking among themselves, told them they should behave as they expected their students to behave by not talking when another person has the floor (FN, 9/8/82, pp. 5-6). At a meeting for new teachers, several staff members said that the constant focus on discipline detracted from their teaching time. They thought the administration should take greater responsibility in this area. Barnhart replied that teachers and administrators had to work together to provide the best learning environment (FN, 9/23/82, p. 4).

Although Barnhart strove to maintain cordial relations with all staff members at Kirkland, her personal contact with individuals on the staff varied widely. She interacted most frequently with the "management team," composed of the APA and the Chapter 1 director. The assistant principal for instruction, though an administrator, was not a member. This close group met with Barnhart daily over sack lunches to talk about subjects that ranged from personal issues to school and administrative problems (FN, 9/30/82, p. 5; FN, 10/18/82, pp. 6-8).

Barnhart also claimed to work closely with Kirkland's counselors. She had assumed supervision of this group so that she could direct their work to include activities such as classroom visits and more interactions with parents (TI, 9/10/82, p. 16). In a meeting with the counselors at the beginning of the year, we observed her work democratically with this group, allowing them to come to decisions by consensus. Her role consisted primarily of making suggestions and requesting further information (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 17-19).

Finally, Barnhart often interacted with other staff members in brief but unplanned exchanges during chance encounters as she went about her daily routines. On her walks around the school, for example, she frequently exchanged friendly words with campus supervisors and custodians, attending to items of business as they arose (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 8, 14, 16; FN, 5/11/83, p. 12).

No matter which group of staff members Barnhart was dealing with, Kirkland's principal understood the importance of communication to minimize misunderstandings among her colleagues. She said that at times she felt that it was difficult to get others to understand what she was trying to do at the school (FN, 9/30/82, pp. 5-6). Besides informal discussions, she would often write down what she wanted staff to do to make sure there were no misunderstandings (FN, 10/1/82, p. 6). However, when communication broke down or failed, Barnhart acted decisively to initiate documentation procedures for faculty or other staff members. The aim of these documentation proceedings was the transfer to other schools of staff members who were not doing an adequate job in Barnhart's eyes (FN, 9/28/82, p. 10; FN, 9/30/82, p. 10; FN, 2/10/83, p. 1).

Barnhart was keenly aware of how her actions affected staff members' perceptions of her. For example, earlier in our narrative we described how she personally negotiated a conflict between office staff members. Having forced the retirement of the former secretary, Barnhart was aware that her decision was being judged by other staff members based on the performance of the replacements she had chosen. She made it clear to the two women that she would document them if they were not able to adhere to the agreement they reached in the negotiations (FN, 10/1/82, p. 9). On another occasion, when custodians complained that there had been a mixup about evening room use, she apologized and informed them of the next evening meeting (FN, 10/18/82, p. 11).

According to Barnhart, when she came to Kirkland, she realized that her first priority was to establish order at the school, and she had decided to defer the problem of community relations for the time being. As she put it:

> I've operated without the community, to be very honest with you. When I first came . . . parents of course did not have the confidence in the school. They only came when something was wrong. And they were used to coming in, giving everybody a bad time, cussing people out and all of that. . . . Parents were not giving their support. It was very negative. So that said to me that I'm going to have to ignore parents for now--until I can show parents what I'm all about. . . . So I just sort of ignored that the first year. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 8)

Once order had been established, however, Barnhart had turned her attention to improving Kirkland's reputation in the community and establishing positive relations with parents and other community members. She said:

> Now, I think we're to the point . . . that parents are saying that, "I'm willing to work with you. I'm concerned about my child. I'm concerned about Kirkland and if Kirkland is making a change, let's help you, because we don't want to go back to the way the school was, two or three years ago." (TI, 9/10/82, p. 8)

Barnhart was fully aware of the problems she faced in involving parents and community in the school. As she said, most of the people in the community were low-income people who "are not used to being a part of the school" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 7). And she set strict limits on the school's responsibility toward its student population. One teacher said:

> She really sees a clear line in terms of the responsibilities of the school, and the responsibilities of parents, and that a school is really limited in what it can do without that parent component. In fact, not every school can meet the needs of all their students. . . . What [the administrators have] done is they've cleaned up this place. They've taken a lot of those students [and said], "Okay, you don't want to be here, your parent won't cooperate, goodbye." . . . And they've done that to a lot of kids and it's improved the school tremendously. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 12)

During the year of this study, Barnhart worked hard to maintain cordial relations with parents. In some instances, this involved soliciting their cooperation, while in others it required responding to their concerns. On the first day of school, when it was clear that there were too many students to register that day, Barnhart called parents and asked for their help in resolving a difficult situation. After explaining what had happened at the school, she requested that parents allow her to send their children home for the day. This strategy was effective for her (FN, 9/13/82, p. 12). In another instance, a parent who came to pick her daughter up from school complained to Barnhart about the girl's teacher; Barnhart listened to the complaint, said she would talk to the teacher, and promised to report back to the parent (FN, 10/18/82, p. 11).

Barnhart's ability to smooth ruffled feathers and maintain the school's image was especially evident at a meeting of the School Advisory Committee. Although the Chapter 1 director began to answer parents' questions, Barnhart soon took control of the flow of information, smoothly explaining the school's Chapter 1 program and dealing with other parent concerns. When a parent complained that her child did not have any homework, Barnhart fielded the issue by appealing to the parent's sense of involvement, saying, "This is your school, not mine or the teachers'." In other instances, the principal relied on formal policy; she told a parent who complained about a teacher that all she could do was document the teacher's behavior. When another asked about homework given by a substitute teacher, Barnhart explained that assigning homework was the school policy (FN, 10/19/82, p. 3). Although these responses by Barnhart did not correct the situations about which the parents were complaining, her statements were apparently effective in communicating her interest in parents' concerns and her desire to improve circumstances at Kirkland; all of these parents responded to her approach by allowing conversation to move on to other topics.

An important factor in Barnhart's emphasis on community relations was that, in the past, concerned parents had frequently elected to enroll their children in other schools. This had been especially true of the parents of very bright students. Barnhart was aware that if Kirkland continued to lose its brighter students, she would not be able to raise school standards and test scores.

Several changes that Barnhart had brought about at Kirkland directly addressed the concerns that led parents to withdraw their youngsters: She worked to create a safer environment for students and instituted "honors" level classes in English and math. Despite these improvements, the difficulty of meeting her goal was graphically illustrated by two instances that occurred near the beginning of the school year.

In the first situation, a parent approached Barnhart and expressed his concern about sending his very bright daughter to the school. The youngster was afraid to attend because of all the negative stories she had heard about the school. Barnhart assured the father that his child would be safe and challenged him to try to convince the youngster to attend Kirkland: "We can meet your daughter's needs here. You need to give me an opportunity to do that" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 10). In addition, she gave the parent her home telephone number, attempting to maintain the contact and to reassure him. Despite her appeal and her willingness to communicate with this family, the child was sent to another school (FN, 9/13/82, p. 4).

In another situation, a parent told Barnhart that she had spent the better part of a morning trying to enroll her daughter in a different junior high because of her daughter's anxiety about attending Kirkland. The previous year, the youngster had been involved in an incident in which she reported that her hair had been set on fire by another student. Since the parent had been unable to secure an alternative placement, she was forced to enroll the child at Kirkland and remained apprehensive and unhappy (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 15-16). Thus, although enrollment at

Kirkland had increased during Barnhart's tenure, parent concern about the school's suitability for their youngsters continued to be a problem for the principal.

As well as working with parents, Barnhart carried her efforts to improve the school's image to the surrounding community. The relationship between local businesses and Kirkland had been poor because of frequent loitering and disturbances created by students. "Businesses that surround the community were very reluctant about participating in whatever we had going on," Barnhart said. The success of her campaign to elicit community support was evident in two examples that she described. The year before this study, Barnhart had approached a business across the street from Kirkland and had asked them to help the school by donating refreshments:

> You know they gave those things to me without even questioning it? Because I did say to them, "Now, we're right across the street. If you help me, then I will help you." And they did say to me, "No one had ever asked that." So I make it a point to go over there periodically and ask, "Are the kids bothering you? Let's work together." (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 8-9)

In addition, the local telephone company had adopted Kirkland and donated money to establish a computer lab (TI, 9/10/82, p. 9).

In one instance, Barnhart's attempts to smooth over relations with the community were jeopardized by her faculty. She had requested that a local company donate some butter that she had planned to help distribute to needy families in the area. When teachers found out that enough was left over to distribute to faculty, they moved too quickly to obtain the butter, antagonizing community members; Barnhart said that some faculty members were so rude to one of the parents organizing the distribution that a special faculty meeting had to be called to explain how the butter was being distributed. She had told teachers that she was disappointed in their behavior to the parent and she had apologized on their behalf (FN, 2/10/83, pp. 6-7).

Summary: In addressing the instructional climate at Kirkland Junior High School, Florence Barnhart's attention focused on turning a chaotic school into a safe and orderly environment. She accomplished this by closing the campus to keep students in and intruders out, establishing and communicating to students rules for their behavior, enforcing rules consistently, and supporting her staff's efforts to maintain discipline.

After two years of hard work, Barnhart had developed a safer school for both students and faculty; fighting had been reduced, and teachers were experiencing fewer discipline problems in their classrooms. All members of the Kirkland community recognized the improvement at the school. Maintaining discipline, however, still required a large amount of time and energy on the part of the principal and her staff; students were still found loitering outside the school; intruders were still found on Kirkland's grounds; and fights still occurred. Although students complied with new regulations, they did so only in deference to an omnipresent authority, and some reacted with anger and disrespect to the sometimes abrasive demands of individual agents of that authority. Barnhart's ultimate aim was to create a school climate at Kirkland where learning could take place. After two years of steady work, however, there was no clear evidence that her desire to improve classroom instruction was translated into action during the year of this study. Indeed, Barnhart's actions had alienated some members of the school's staff. Her efforts to gain community support had paid off, but skillful communication was required to maintain that newly acquired support.

Safety and order at Kirkland, however, had improved greatly; the school operated much more smoothly than it had in the past. Much of this improvement can be attributed to the efforts of Barnhart, who had vigorously and decisively enacted necessary changes at the school.

Kirkland's Instructional Organization

Instructional organization is our collective term for the technical features of instructional coordination and delivery to which the principals in our study attended. When acting to improve instructional organization in their schools, our principals manipulated, for example, class size and composition, scheduling, staff assignments, the scope and sequence of curriculum, the distribution of instructional materials, and even teaching styles. We suggest that instructional climate--the concept we discussed in the immediately preceding section--influences students' and staff members' feelings and expectations about their schools, and that instructional organization delivers the reality.

In this section, we describe in greater detail the instructional system of Kirkland Junior High School, highlighting the content of instruction, class structures and teacher and student placement, pedagogy, and staff development. As in the previous section about the instructional climate, our purpose is to discuss the beliefs and activities of the principal that influence these important factors of schooling. The reader should recall that the principal's goals for Kirkland emphasized maintaining a safe and orderly environment where instruction could effectively take place.

The Content of Instruction: Curriculum, subject matter, classes, topics, texts, program, schedule, and syllabus are a confusing array of terms often used by teachers and principals to describe what is taught in their classrooms or schools. Although these terms are somewhat analogous, they are not synonymous in that they tend to blur substance, method, and organization. In this section, we wish to discuss the content of instruction at Kirkland and examine how that content was organized and determined. In so doing, we are discussing curriculum as Dunkin and Biddle (1974) used that term, as a broad concept for thinking about specific subject areas. But Dewey (1916) may have best defined content and underscored its importance in his discussion of "subject matter":

> It consists of the facts observed, recalled, read, and talked about, and the ideas suggested, in course of a development of a situation having a purpose. . . . What is the significance . . . ?
>
> In the last analysis, all that the educator can do is modify stimuli so that response will as surely as is possible result in the formation of desirable intellectual and emotional dispositions. Obviously . . . the subject matter . . . [has] intimately to do with this business of supplying an environment. (pp. 180-181)

The core curriculum at Kirkland included classes in English, math, social studies, and physical education. In English and math, classes were organized according to achievement levels designated as skills or workshop, average, and honors. Core social studies courses were geography for seventh graders and American history for eighth and ninth graders. Electives available to students in all three grades were foreign languages (French and Spanish), industrial arts (metal and wood shop), choir, and band. Other electives were designated for specific grades: Seventh graders could select art, general music, or beginning band; eighth graders could choose typing, home crafts, or science; and ninth graders were allowed to select teen living and R.O.T.C. as well as the eighth grade choices (Master Program, Spring 1983).

Kirkland's core curriculum was supplemented by two programs designated for particular groups of students. One of these was the Chapter 1 program for students identified as educationally disadvantaged (EDY) by virtue of their performance on standardized tests (i.e., below the 50th percentile on the CTBS). This program operated as a pullout from students' regular English and math classes. For six-week periods, participants received special instruction on an individual basis in English and math labs (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

One English teacher criticized this pullout program, claiming that the lab work was really "like fun and games" for students, without any clear educational value, and that there was no coordination between the labs and regular classroom instruction (TI, 5/13/83, p. 10). The teacher expressed dismay that he overheard his department chairman telling a parent that he (the chairman) did not know what work the parent's child was doing in the lab or how the youngster was performing (TI, 5/13/83, pp. 10-11).

The second special program at Kirkland, the Re-entry program, had been designed by two teachers for students who had a history of severe truancy problems. As a strategy for helping these students re-establish themselves in their regular classes, youngsters were placed for part of the day in a single classroom with a Re-entry teacher who worked with the youngster on attitudinal as well as instructional matters. One of the creators of this program stated that his first goal was to have students learn regular attendance patterns. His second objective was to help each student develop the kind of self-image and outlook that would "make being in a school environment a lot easier for the student." Third, he aimed to improve students' academic learning and thinking skills, starting from "where they are when they walk into this classroom, not according to any outside criteria." Finally, he wanted to have his students "establish in their minds their own personal connection to the educational process" (TI, 2/15/83, p. 1).

During the year of this study, we did not observe any situations in which Principal Barnhart was involved in the planning or delivery of Kirkland's academic curriculum. However, interviews with her and with several of the teachers provided examples of changes she had made in the school's curriculum in previous years. According to a math teacher, for example, Barnhart had been instrumental in the addition of academic-level classes in math. Before her arrival, the school had only workshop classes, pre-algebra, and general math for ninth graders, and general math for seventh and eighth graders. He said that he and other teachers had proposed to previous principals the addition of academic classes, but with no results. Barnhart, however, had been receptive to their ideas:

> I don't know how she worked out the administrative details, but some way she got them going as opposed to previous administrations who could not get them going or refused to get them going. (TI, 6/9/83, p. 13)

The math teacher said that first Barnhart had staff members assess the CTBS scores of ninth graders who were in pre-algebra and general math and then instructed them to reprogram any who scored 10.0 and higher into algebra. The ninth-grade academic classes were added the first year of Barnhart's tenure, while the seventh- and eighth-grade honors classes were added the second year. After only two years, then, the school offered three levels of math for each grade (TI, 6/9/83, p. 12).

The same teacher said Barnhart had also reorganized the curriculum in English/language arts, adding journalism and creative writing, and he said that she was instrumental in bringing computers into the instructional process at the school

(TI, 6/9/83, p. 13). Another teacher mentioned that the ethnic studies class that she taught "was structured by [Barnhart] and another teacher"; when she began teaching at Kirkland, the class was "already set up and I just followed the pattern that was already structured" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 6).

Like other junior high schools in the district, Kirkland's curriculum comprised a core of basic subjects and a number of academic and vocational electives. Barnhart's main contribution to this standard curriculum had been to create accelerated classes in math and English for her more able students. As she explained:

> Now, some people will call that tracking. Call it whatever you want to call it, but I think that need[ed] to be done. I don't think we need to lose those [more able] students. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 15)

Although Barnhart was aware that some might not approve of such "tracking," her interest was in meeting the needs of all students who attended Kirkland Junior High.

Structures and Placement: In the previous section, we described the content of instruction at Kirkland Junior High. This section explains how students and teachers were organized at the school to receive or deliver that content. By structures we mean the classifications of instructional groups in schools: for example, grade levels or grade-level clusters, classes or classrooms, or skill-level groups.

Sometimes instructional grouping is largely dependent on the physical limits of a building's architecture. Such factors as how many youngsters fit into a space and how many spaces are available in a school may determine group composition. In other situations, groupings may be influenced by curriculum or achievement levels, as when children move individually from classroom to classroom during a school day. (Within-classroom grouping will be discussed in "Pedagogy.")

In either case, school-level grouping creates a social context for learning that can have varying impact on any group member. Cohorts of students are established, sometimes with remarkable longevity. Students' progress may be impeded or enhanced; students may become stereotyped as "bright" or "slow" and assigned accordingly; and teachers' instruction may be influenced by their expectations of students' learning capacities (see Brophy, 1973; Brophy & Good, 1974).

Teaching assignments are also an important element of school structure. Such assignments may be based on teachers' previous experiences, expertise, or preferences, or on administrative concerns regarding staff development, staff cohesiveness, or teachers' personalities and/or teaching styles. Bringing together specific teachers with individual students or student groups helps define the social context of instruction and influences the academic experience of children. (See Barnett & Filby, 1984; Filby & Barnett, 1982; and Filby, Barnett, & Bossert, 1982 for descriptions of how the social context of instruction influences students' perceptions and the rate at which materials are presented to students.)

Thus, one of the most familiar aspects of schools--classrooms containing a teacher and a group of students--is a critical factor to successful instruction. The assignment of students and teachers to classrooms or their more fluid counterparts should therefore be a primary concern of principals (Bossert et al., 1982). This section describes the role of Kirkland's principal in these decisions.

At Kirkland, the structure of classes was consistent with the organization at most of the district's other junior high schools. Students attended six classes a day, each lasting 55 minutes (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II). In academic subjects, including math, English, social studies, and science, most classes enrolled students from only one grade. In nonacademic subjects, including P.E. and electives, students from each of the grades were combined. Students in special education classes and the Re-entry program were also combined across grades. As a result of these practices, about 40% of Kirkland's classes included students from more than one grade level (IOI, 5/13/83, Part I).

For math and English, students were grouped according to achievement scores from standardized tests. In English, for example, there were usually two classes at each grade level for remedial or workshop students and two for honors students, with about twice as many average classes for the remainder of the students. A similar pattern occurred in math, with about two sections at each grade level for students working above and below the average level (Master Program, Spring 1983).

Other class structures operated in the Chapter 1 program and the Re-entry program. Chapter 1 used a pullout arrangement to provide students with the services of math and English resource teachers in a laboratory setting for six weeks. The Re-entry program placed students in a self-contained classroom for instruction in core subjects with a single teacher until the student could be placed on a regular schedule. (See "The Content of Instruction" for more information about these programs.)

School-level decisions concerning staff assignments were somewhat constrained by district staffing practices that determined the availability of potential staff members. Lack of funds had forced the district to make cutbacks in teaching staff; within these limitations, however, Barnhart tried hard to hire staff members who would help her build the kind of school she wanted at Kirkland. Her aim was to build a coalition of strong individuals who would support her endeavors and contribute to the goals she was striving to achieve at Kirkland. This was most evident in the positions that most closely affected her, as in the case of the assistant principal for administration (APA): Barnhart had known him socially before her assignment and had told him that, if she became principal at Kirkland, she would hire him as assistant principal (FN, 10/15/82, p. 4). She was able to do so midway through her first year (TI, 10/15/82, p. 4), and he became an important member of her "management team."

If Barnhart took special license with regard to administrative staffing at Kirkland, she seemed more willing to follow district procedures concerning the assignment of teachers. When the APA asked Barnhart why she did not use her contacts in the district office to get the teachers the school needed, the principal responded that she would rather go through established channels before she went over her supervisor's head (FN, 9/30/82, p. 8).

Most of our observations of Barnhart's involvement with staff assignments occurred at the beginning of our yearlong study. Because student enrollment was greater than anticipated, Barnhart was required to obtain and place additional staff members. She worked closely with her counseling staff to carry out these tasks. At a meeting early in the year, she solicted feedback from counselors regarding scheduling problems; the group, which included the assistant principals, agreed to assign the overflow students in science to a new teacher who had just been appointed to the school (FN, 9/13/82, p. 17). The group next discussed whether Kirkland should accept a part-time assignment of a teacher who could spend afternoons at the junior high and mornings at another school; since the teacher would need to take her preparation hour during her time at Kirkland, staff members decided not to accept that teacher (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 17-18). Later that day, Barnhart spoke with the new teacher, explaining some changes in the location of her classes and the addition of the science class; the principal reassured the teacher that the changes were made in the best interest of the school and did not reflect upon the teacher in any way (FN, 9/13/82, p. 21).

Later in September, Barnhart negotiated with the district's industrial arts coordinator about two more staffing positions she was to receive. He tried to "sell" two teachers to her, while she was negotiating for the teachers of her choice. After he outlined the strengths and weaknesses of the two teachers, she accepted his recommendation for the stronger of the two, and told him she only needed a teacher with drafting and electronics shop experience (FN, 9/24/82, p. 7).

Once she had most of her new staff in place, Barnhart was still required to deal with matters related to their assignments. One new teacher, whose native language was not English, expressed concern to her about an English class he had been assigned to teach. The principal asked for information about his credential, which was in math and industrial arts, and then informed him that she would replace the English class with something more suitable (FN, 9/30/82, p. 4).

While Barnhart was able to deal relatively easily with this teacher's problem concerning his preparation for the assignment, a situation later in the year presented the principal with a much more difficult challenge. Both of Kirkland's regular music teachers had become ill and left the school a month before classes ended for the year. According to Barnhart, the substitutes who replaced these teachers did not have credentials in music and were dealing with groups of students whom the regular teachers had been unable to control successfully. Although Barnhart believed the substitutes were doing the best they could, the situation resulted in student disturbances and discipline referrals (SO, 4/27/83, p. 1). Barnhart had solicited the assistance of the district music specialist, which apparently had not helped. As a result, the principal was considering closing the school's music department for the remainder of the year because she was not confident that the district could find teachers who could do the job (I, 5/13/83, p. 13).

Both of the above examples illustrate the complexity of staffing at the junior high school level. Due to the large numbers of subjects taught in differentiated secondary schools, teachers with specific expertise are required. But compromises are necessary when needs fail to justify a full-time teacher in, for example, math or English; principals must struggle to find teachers with diverse skills who can cover several subject matter areas. Sometimes, as here, compromises are untenable or appropriate personnel are simply impossible to find.

Student assignment to classrooms in all grades was determined by a combination of criteria that included the student's achievement level, scheduling considerations, parent preferences, staff availability, and required subject offerings (IOI, 5/13/83, Part I). In the Re-entry and Chapter 1 programs, the particular requirements of the program, established by the school or by the regulations of the funding agency, determined student eligibility. Counselors had primary responsibility for assigning students, although the principal, other administrators, and teachers also contributed to this process.

Placement of students in math and English was determined by their performance on the CTBS test. For example, seventh graders who scored 0-4 (grade equivalent) were placed in the skills or workshop classes; those who scored from 4.2-6.9 were placed in average classes; and those who scored at grade level or above were placed in honors classes if they also received teacher recommendations. This policy was a school-site decision that had evolved over the course of Barnhart's tenure (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

Teachers did have recourse if the assignment policy failed to place students appropriately. An English teacher indicated, for example, that students were assigned to sections in her department based on test scores and teacher recommendations; if she found that a student with low test scores demonstrated ability, she talked to a counselor and had the student transferred to a more challenging class (FN, 3/22/83, p. 4).

A larger than expected enrollment at Kirkland during the year of this study exacerbated the normal problems that come with scheduling students at a large junior high school. The first day was chaotic, and Barnhart took an active role in trying to straighten the situation out. She stood in the hall, explaining the confusion to parents and teachers, and directed them to the appropriate areas; checked students' addresses to verify that they lived in the Kirkland attendance area; helped register new students; gave students advice for handling the large crowds; and generally monitored the day's events (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 5-7). She explained to the observer that she wanted to be directly involved in the registration process to get a sense of how many students were on hand and to get a feel for where she could help. In addition, she believed that this kind of personal exposure would help eliminate potential breakdowns in communication (I, 9/13/82, p. 3).

When Barnhart realized the futility of programming the large numbers of students in this manner, she dealt with the chaotic situation by taking students into her office in shifts. She told them she was going to send them home and asked them to come back the next day for scheduling. Then she called their parents to explain the situation; her strategy was to ask for their help with the difficult situation (FN, 9/13/82, pp. 11-12). She explained that she had learned from experience that soliciting their cooperation was a better technique than simply announcing to parents what she intended to do (I, 9/13/82, p. 12).

Barnhart used a similar strategy when dealing with teachers. At a faculty meeting, she explained that some classes would invariably be overenrolled and told teachers that the assistant principal for instruction (API) was working diligently to correct the problem. She asked teachers to accept the large numbers of students for the sake of the youngsters. When several teachers protested, basing their complaints on the collective bargaining agreement that limited class size, Barnhart acknowledged their concern and asked them to be patient until the API resolved the problem (FN, 9/8/82, p. 5). Despite the fact that Barnhart had until October to balance class sizes according to the teachers' contract, she chose to use a more cooperative approach rather than to base her response on the letter of the contract. Thus, Barnhart used shrewdness, tact, and discretion to handle problems that fell under her jurisdiction concerning the assignment of students to classrooms.

Teachers at Kirkland were generally allowed to exercise their judgment in the evaluation of students. Although all teachers assigned letter grades to students every six weeks, as required by district policy, they were free to attach whatever meaning they wished to these grades. Teachers based their evaluations on homework, classroom performance, and on tests that they gave at the end of each marking period. One teacher sent out a form letter to parents every three weeks that gave a "complete breakdown" of their children's attendance, classroom behavior, and performance on assignments (TI, 6/2/83, pp. 3-4).

Barnhart's strategies for monitoring student achievement included inspecting report cards every six weeks and examining the results of norm-referenced tests. These tasks were shared with the assistant principals.

Teachers differed in their perceptions of how aware Barnhart really was about their students' performance. One teacher said he did not think Barnhart knew how his students were performing and added that he documented grades carefully although he had no idea who read the documentation (TI, 4/27/83, pp. 5-6). An English teacher said that Barnhart knew "probably hardly anything" about what he did in the classroom, "although I think she's aware of the performance, through test scores, through just general ambience" (TI, 5/13/83, p. 5). A math teacher said that he thought Barnhart knew how his students were performing and added:

> The standardized test, I think management, well, I know management sees these scores before the site teaching staff sees [them]. (TI, 6/2/83, p. 10)

The same teacher, however, expressed regret that such information was not used as it might be:

> I would like to see more of this, when the management team can get in and we can sit down and go over the things that such and such a student is doing and see if we can come up with alternative methods or enforce methods to help those who need help. (TI, 6/2/83, p. 11)

Most teachers' comments indicated that they thought Barnhart's knowledge, if any, of their students' progress stemmed from indirect means, such as conversations between students and the principal (TI, 4/27/83, p. 8) and communication initiated by teachers with the administrators (TI, 4/27/83, p. 8; TI, 5/20/83, p. 6).

In sum, Barnhart appeared to track school-level achievement scores more than individual student performance and to base her decisions about goals for the school on those averages.

Promotion of students at Kirkland was determined by district policy, which stated that students must earn a minimum of five units of credit per year to advance to the next grade (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II). One semester of successful work in any subject was worth half a unit. As part of the five units, English, math, and P.E. were required courses (FN, 9/24/82, p. 3). Although our data from the year did not include any specific information about the number of students retained at Kirkland each year, teachers estimated numbers in the range of 20 to 30 (SFI, 3/1/83, p. 5; SFI, 6/3/83, p. 5; SFI, 6/9/83, p. 5).

Pedagogy: Lortie (1975) wrote the following about the ideals of teachers:

> Teachers favor outcomes for students which are not arcane. Their purposes, in fact, seem to be relatively traditional; they want to produce "good" people--students who like learning--and they hope they will attain such goals with all their students.
>
> We find that the goals sought by teachers cannot be routinely realized. Their ideals are difficult and demanding: exerting moral influence, "soldering" students to learning, and achieving general impact presume great capacity to penetrate and alter the consciousness of students. (pp. 132-133)

In his words, we glimpse the essence of teaching, the ideals to which men and women of that profession largely aspire. Lortie's statement also confronts us with the fact that teachers' goals for students are difficult to achieve. In this light, what teachers do in their classrooms, the activities or tasks they instigate and the ways they involve students, become critically important.

The variety of strategies and materials utilized by teachers is remarkably small given the diversity of students and contexts in which they work. Further, we can gather from historical chronicles and archival representations that the delivery of instruction has changed little over the centuries. Despite the aspirations of philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and radical educators (Mayhew & Edwards, 1936; Neill, 1960; Skinner, 1948; Smith & Keith, 1971) and the advent of a variety of audiovisual technologies, a preponderance of whole-group, teacher-directed instruction remains. Bossert (1979) described only three categories of pedagogy that commonly occur in schools:

> Recitation--An activity that involves the whole class or a large group of children in a single task: The children listen to the question the teacher asks, raise their hands, wait to be recognized, and give an answer. . . . The teacher usually controls the flow of questions and answers.
>
> Class Task--Worksheets, tests, math assignments, or other tasks assigned to the entire class.
>
> Multitask--Usually includes tasks like independent reading, small group and

> independent projects, artwork, and crafts. These activities involve the greatest amount of pupil choice in organizing and completing the work. (pp. 44-45)

The choice of instructional strategy seems to depend on many factors. Dunkin and Biddle (1974) noted that the instructional approach selected by teachers is influenced by their formative and training experiences and by their own psychological "properties" (p. 40). In addition, as in our own conception (see Figure 1, p. v), they noted the importance of context variables such as community, school size, and student ethnic composition on classroom practice. (For further examples, see Dwyer, Smith, Prunty, & Kleine, in press, a case study of contextual impact on an educational innovation.) Finally, Dunkin and Biddle underscored the importance of the students--essential partners in any instructional task:

> Most systems for studying teaching have concentrated on teacher behavior, assuming, reasonably, that much of the success of teaching is in the teacher's hands. . . . Are these presumptions adequate? Surely teachers not only induce but also react to pupil behavior. . . . In some ways, therefore, teacher behavior is also a function of pupil behavior, and the success of the teaching enterprise rests with pupils as well as with teachers. (p. 44)

The purpose of our study, of course, is to look beyond the teacher and his or her students and examine the role of the principal in the leadership and management of instruction. This section describes the pedagogy employed at Kirkland Junior High School and seeks to explain the instructional patterns that we found by relating them to student, teacher, principal, and other contextual factors.

There were no explicit policies at Kirkland to guide teaching techniques in the classroom. Each teacher was free to choose his or her own methods. In describing the situation, Barnhart said that management monitored lesson format and instructional techniques by checking lesson plans and through her "open classroom door" policy (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

Most of the teachers who were observed used primarily whole-class instruction that included lecture, recitation, and seatwork. Teachers frequently mentioned students' lack of self-discipline as a reason for preferring to work with the whole class (FN, 3/21/83, p. 4; SO, 4/25/83, p. 4; TI, 5/13/83, p. 1). In more than half of the classroom observations, in fact, the observer noted some form of student disruption during the lesson, ranging from talking and not paying attention to the teacher to outright bedlam, particularly at the beginning of class. In a number of instances, discipline problems consumed a considerable amount of the teachers' time and effort and made it difficult for the teachers to concentrate on instruction (FN, 2/17/83, p. 3; FN, 3/9/83, p. 2; FN, 3/21/83, p. 3; FN, 3/22/83, p. 1; FN, 4/22/83, p. 1; FN, 4/25/83, p. 1; FN, 5/18/83, pp. 2-3; FN, 5/19/83, p. 1).

One teacher, who taught students working below grade level, commented on her own mixed attitude about appropriate strategies for working with these youngsters. Sometimes she put the material in front of the students and "spoon fed" them; she said, however, that when she did not feel up to doing this, she would require her students to pick up their own materials and go through the steps of the lesson on their own. She believed that this latter method, the "hard way," was better for developing their maturity (I, 3/9/83, p. 3).

Teachers' comments indicated that their instructional practices and pedagogical approaches had been influenced by their own personalities, other teaching professionals, their schooling, and their teaching experiences (TI, 2/15/83, pp. 4-5; TI, 2/17/83, p. 2; TI, 4/27/83, p. 1). As one Re-entry program teacher said:

> I couldn't say, "Well, I read this theory." It's really a lot of different pieces--it's just the way I approach things. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 4)

Another teacher offered this comment:

> I come from sort of a mixed background theoretically. When I was in undergraduate school in the 60s and 70s, it was the, you know, big open classroom, free rein type of thing and I taught in that setting in the East for a couple of years . . . and saw some problems with that and saw some advantages. And when I got around to going back to grad[uate] school [for] a reading credential, I was exposed to a lot of special ed. training . . . [which] was much more structured and much more behaviorally oriented. I can't buy that whole heart, but I kind of go find my own mix in between. So it's the two schools of thought, I guess. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 2)

Most of the 10 teachers who were interviewed agreed that Barnhart had had little or no direct influence on their teaching (TI, 2/15/83, p. 14; TI, 2/17/83, p. 8; TI, 4/27/83, p. 5; TI, 5/13/83, p. 5; TI, 5/20/83, p. 4; TI, 6/2/83, p. 9). One teacher made this observation:

> What I see as a lack . . . [is] a concentration on real suggestions for helping teachers in the classroom themselves, in the

> instructional mode. I don't see that happening so much. You know, I don't know whether [Barnhart] comments on people's lesson plans who are under her jurisdiction and so forth, I'm not sure. But as far as my actual teaching, she's never had anything to say, pro or con, about it. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 7)

Other teachers indicated that Barnhart had influenced them in nonpedagogical areas (TI, 3/22/83, p. 7; TI, 5/26/83. p. 5). The Re-entry teacher mentioned that the principal had shaped "some of our style with our students and some of the emotional counseling that's going on" (TI, 2/15/83, p. 14). Another said:

> I think . . . Florence is sort of an inspiration to me in terms of how I feel about teaching. . . . No, she hasn't asked me questions, it's--it's sort of the way she carries herself and she makes me feel good that I'm a teacher. (TI, 6/6/83, p. 10)

Homework policy at Kirkland was determined by the district and approved by the school board. At the junior high level, according to Barnhart, teachers were required to give students at least 30 minutes of homework per night in academic subjects. In nonacademic subjects, homework was left up to each teacher's discretion (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

In practice, however, implementation of homework policies varied from assigning too little or none to a host of practices that demonstrated real concern on the part of teachers. Teachers were observed to hand out, collect, or give information on homework assignments in the classroom observations (FN, 3/10/83, p. 1; FN, 3/21/83, p. 2; FN, 3/22/83, p. 2; FN, 3/28/83, p. 3; FN, 4/22/83, p. 4; FN, 4/25/83, p. 1; FN, 5/19/83, p. 6). One teacher told students they could start on their homework in class when they had finished their in-class assignment (FN, 4/25/83, p. 3). Three teachers indicated that they had parents sign their children's homework (FN, 3/22/83, p. 2; TI, 4/27/83, p. 3; TI, 5/20/83, p. 7). Another teacher was observed to reprimand his students for not doing their homework.

Parental concern about their children's homework also varied widely. At one meeting, several parents complained to Barnhart that their children's teachers did not give them enough homework to do; in response, Barnhart explained district homework policy and encouraged parent involvement, saying, "This is your school, not mine or the teachers'" (FN, 10/19/82, pp. 2-3). One teacher said that even though he required parents to sign students' homework assignments, he believed that his students copied from the same student in the class, based on a common error on all of their papers (FN, 3/22/83, p. 2).

There was no specific policy at Kirkland regarding grouping within classrooms; decisions were left to the individual teacher's discretion. In fact, such grouping at Kirkland was rare. It was reported that the need for grouping in some classes was lessened by the fact that reading and math classes were limited to 25 students per section, a policy formulated by the English department based on the philosophy that smaller classes meant better teaching (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

A number of teachers, however, mentioned that they avoided creating smaller work groups within their classes because such grouping made class discipline more difficult (FN, 3/21/83, p. 4; SO, 4/25/83, p. 4). "I'm real big on whole class instruction, because I feel I can control it better," one teacher said (TI, 5/13/83, p. 1). Still others worried about wide variations in student ability (FN, 3/22/83, p. 4) or the lack of able students to assist other students (FN, 4/26/83, p. 3).

One teacher tried to make up for the lack of grouping by giving his students individualized attention:

> There's something else I do, particularly with writing, and that's as much one-on-one work as I can. I'll give an assignment and a demonstration and a model for the whole class and everybody does it and they bring it up to me and we'll go over it one-on-one and I think that is the single most important thing in writing. (TI, 5/13/83, p. 1)

Some of Kirkland's classes, by nature, provided individualized instruction, including the workshop and laboratory classes, and the Re-entry program.

The grouping that did occasionally occur took several forms. One industrial arts teacher, for example, used social grouping, allowing students to sit with their friends in groups of four wherever they liked, although they worked on individual projects. The teacher warned them, however, that if their behavior became a problem, he would move them to the front of the class where he could keep an eye on them (FN, 3/28/83, p. 4).

The teachers who used grouping for instructional purposes did so because they recognized an advantage in peer tutoring. A math teacher, who said he grouped both to encourage cooperation and to identify students who were talking inappropriately, said he placed bright with poor students because he felt that repeating the material helped both students understand it better (FN, 2/17/83, p. 5). Another math teacher assigned students to groups of not more than four on the basis of a pretest. The students with the highest scores were assigned to act as peer tutors or "captains" for the groups. The teacher said he addressed his lectures to the group captain, who was responsible for all the group's activities, explanation, and peer tutoring; students with questions were required to talk with the captain before approaching the teacher (FN, 4/26/83, p. 2).

Staff Development: Nothing seemed as important to the dozens of principals with whom we spoke in this study than the quality of their teachers. Again and again, we were told that teachers make the difference in the quality of schools. The procurement and retention of teachers, and the development of their instructional expertise, then, seem critical in the establishment of an effective instructional system in any school.

Illuminating the same point, Shulman (1984) also focused on teachers in a statement about effective schools that he termed "outrageous":

> I would like to suggest another image for you to carry around in your heads of what an effective school is like--an image that goes beyond the empirical view of a school that produces gains in test scores. . . . I'd like to suggest a view of an effective school that you will treat as outrageous. I think we ought to define effective schools as those that are educative settings for teachers. (Address)

Quite rationally, he explained his proposal:

> If the quality of education for kids ultimately depends on how smart teachers are about their teaching and about their subjects, what better place for them to learn new things than in the school itself?

Noting our principals' beliefs about the importance of teachers and finding no argument with Shulman's logic, we consider the topic of staff development a crucial part of the technology of instructional systems (see also Showers, 1984).

Three common aspects of the day-to-day world of schools seem germane to conceptualizing staff development as growth or learning experiences for teachers: a) the supervision of instruction; b) teacher evaluation; and c) in-service opportunities for staff. We have already woven the story of supervision in the school into other portions of the story. For example, through supervision, we find our principals influencing social and academic goals, social and academic curriculum, and pedagogy. In this section, then, we would like to illuminate the principal's activities and attitudes regarding teacher evaluation and discuss her role in the provision of in-service activities for teachers.

Before describing teacher evaluation at Kirkland, we would like to clarify the difference between instructional supervision and teacher evaluation, because the two are often confused. McLaughlin (1984) distinguished between the two:

> Supervision of teaching and evaluation of teaching are not the same thing. Instructional supervision is the process of facilitating the professional growth of a teacher by giving the teacher feedback about classroom interactions and helping the teacher to make use of that feedback to become a more effective teacher. Evaluation is the analysis of overall teaching performance to meet contractual requirements, including the measurement of teacher change and improvement both in teaching and professional conduct to make personnel decisions for job placement, tenure, performance improvement plans, dismissal, and recognition and promotion.
>
> The power to supervise is bestowed by teachers and is intended to create trust between the teacher and supervisor, to facilitate teacher learning and develop teacher autonomy. The power to evaluate is bestowed by the governing board, administration, and state regulations. (p. 4)

Teacher evaluation, the bureaucratic responsibility that McLaughlin defined, was governed at Kirkland by state and district policy. Tenured teachers were evaluated once every two years; non-tenured teachers were evaluated every year; and first-year teachers were evaluated twice their first year (District doc., n.d.). As with other junior high schools in the district, responsibilities for formal evaluation and supervision of teachers were divided among the administrators; as a result, many teachers commented that one or the other of the assistant principals had more knowledge of their teaching than did Barnhart (TI, 2/15/83, p. 15; TI, 2/17/83, p. 8; TI, 3/21/83, p. 3; TI, 3/22/83, p. 8; TI, 4/27/83, p. 5; TI, 4/27/83, p. 6; TI, 5/26/83, p, 6;).

At the beginning of the year, Barnhart announced to her staff that she would be spending two hours a day, one day per week, in classroom visits as required by the district. She explained that teachers should not worry about this procedure and that, as a courtesy, she would inform them a day in advance when she would be observing their classes (FN, 9/8/82, p. 2). By the end of the year, however, neither our observational nor our interview data indicated that Barnhart or the other administrators had been successful in meeting this district requirement.

Barnhart required teachers to turn in lesson plans weekly to the administrator supervising them, but this practice was not followed consistently by all staff members. For example, when asked about submitting lesson plans, one teacher who taught in several academic subject areas reported, "I haven't [turned them in] and I should start" (TI, 4/27/83, p. 5). Another said:

> No, I do not [turn in lesson plans]. I have them. They're right here but I will not duplicate them. If they want them, they can come up and look at my book. I'm not going to duplicate them for anybody . . . because I think it's ridiculous. . . . I would much rather have a cigarette and drink a cup of coffee than copy a lesson plan. I told them that, and they told me to keep my mouth shut. (TI, 5/20/83, p. 5)

Teachers who did turn in their lesson plans reported a variety of responses, and they differed in their attitudes toward these responses. One teacher said, "I'm real upset about the lesson plans because nothing happens to them" (TI, 5/13/83, p. 6). Another said, "I don't know what happens to the lesson plans. I turn them in and some of them get initialed and returned to me. And the rest, I don't know what happens to them" (TI, 6/2/83, p. 9). Yet another said, "Never gotten 'em back. Uh, once in a while I suppose I have gotten 'em back if they were not right" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 8). On the other hand, a teacher said, "Comments are made on them and within 24 hours they're returned to me" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 6); another said that he got them back with comments from the one of the assistant principals (TI, 4/27/83, p. 7).

According to the principal, other strategies besides formal evaluation and inspecting lesson plans were used to monitor instruction at Kirkland. These included checking student performance by examining grade reports, obtaining feedback from students and other teachers, and taking advantage of the "open classroom door" policy, which allowed administrators to "casually stroll through the halls to watch what is taking place in classrooms" (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

Barnhart's "open door" policy was an informal strategy for monitoring classroom activities. Teachers' comments indicated that they were aware of the visibility that this policy created:

> First of all, she likes for us to teach with our doors open, and then she's down the hallway and she's in and out. . . . Open classrooms, that was just one of the things she had said. (TI, 5/26/83, p. 7)

The art teacher said:

> [A] lot of time, you don't know who's observing you, because if you're inside and your doors are open, I can't look out in the hall and see who's passing by or whatever. (TI, 3/22/83, p. 8)

Informal classroom visits were also made by Kirkland's administrators, although this strategy did not appear to be employed uniformly with all members of the teaching staff. When asked if Barnhart visited her classroom, one teacher said, "She's been here once in three years, as far as I recall--maybe twice" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 8). A teacher new to Kirkland that year said the principal had visited twice (TI, 4/27/83, p. 6). Another teacher said:

> [She doesn't come in to sit down] extremely often. She's in the hallway outside of my door often. She's there sometimes when class starts, she's there sometime in the middle of class and she has come in, maybe, once a semester and she has sat through the class. She has come to demonstrations that we've given in class and she's come to talk to students and to observe. (TI, 5/26/83, p. 7)

Other teachers, however, described their experiences with informal classroom visits differently. One teacher said, "I think Florence knows everything I'm doing in the classroom because she's constantly in and out of the classroom" (TI, 6/2/83, p. 9). Several mentioned that other administrators visited their classrooms (TI, 2/15/83, p. 15; TI, 3/22/83, p. 8); one teacher commented that this enabled Barnhart to learn more about what she was doing in her classroom:

> [The assistant principal] always comes in and out intermittently, like he'll come in one door and he'll come out the other and I'm sure he's relayed information to her, you know, just in the way that I teach. (TI, 3/22/83, p. 8)

Thus, Barnhart and her administrative team had a number of information gathering methods at hand with which they could monitor instruction. What was done with that information, however, varied from teacher to teacher. Some teachers said Barnhart did not discuss instruction with them (TI, 2/17/83, p. 8; TI, 3/22/83, p. 9; TI, 4/27/83, p. 6); others said she did (TI, 5/26/83, p. 7; TI, 6/2/83, p. 9); one said, "on some occasions," adding that one of the assistant principals was her primary contact with the administration (TI, 5/26/83, p. 6).

Teachers' perceptions clearly indicated that Barnhart's degree of involvement with her staff varied widely: Some she left alone, while others she talked to extensively, including one of the Re-entry teachers (TI, 2/15/83, p. 12) and an ambitious English teacher, whom she was considering appointing as department chair (FN, 5/11/83, pp. 5-7).

Teachers with whom she did not seem to be involved had differing interpretations of her attitude. The art teacher said that Barnhart did not seem to know much about art but that she thought the principal trusted her as a teacher to do a good job:

> I think she knows that, basically, I know my subject matter and that I do know how to teach, above and beyond all things. (TI, 3/22/83, p. 8)

Another said:

> I think that people don't necessarily [have to] be in the classroom to know what's going on in the classroom. (TI, 5/20/83, p. 5)

A third teacher said:

> I really don't talk to Dr. Barnhart that much, see, but every time I talk to her it's always something constructive, and it's always basically about the children, the kids. (TI, 4/27/83, p. 4)

Yet another said:

> She comes in once in a while and . . . she makes suggestions. . . . You know, you don't have to guess what she wants you to do, she tells you. . . . She's not going to beat around the bush every day, but she will follow through on it if you're not doing what you're supposed to do, she'll let you know. (TI, 5/26/83, p. 6)

One teacher, who expressed deep dislike of Barnhart's administration, concluded:

> Maybe a principal's job is to just have a laissez faire attitude, you know, let the teachers do whatever, you know, and let's hope that test scores go up. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 7)

Just as Barnhart's informal involvement with teachers' classroom performance varied, so did her application of formal evaluation strategies. Only one teacher who was interviewed made reference to being evaluated by Barnhart, and in this case, her evaluation was aimed less at improving teaching than it was at the routine fulfillment of district requirements:

> This year she evaluated me, so we had a conference and a couple of written communications about that, but, uh, the only thing she said she wanted [was] some clarification, which was easy to do. (TI, 5/13/83, p. 6)

He went on to express the conflict he felt at Barnhart's lack of involvement with his classroom teaching:

> [O]n the one hand, I enjoy the freedom of the classroom and I really don't care that nobody's coming around to monitor me constantly all the time, which could be punitive, very punishing. Usually observation is incorrectly done in that way, because to me observation should not be done that way at all. But it would be better for the school if the principal came in and observed you in such a way that she was really trying to help you. (TI, 5/13/83, p. 3)

In a few cases, Barnhart made an intensive effort to evaluate and document members of the Kirkland staff who she thought were performing inadequately and not contributing to the good of the school. The principal considered this type of supervision to be one of her critical functions:

> Now, that takes up a lot of my time, dealing with people who are not going to do anything. Because in trying to find other placements for them, that takes a lot of documentation, a lot of supervision, and that's hard work. And we do have a couple of people that I will be working with this year. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 15)

Thus, for Barnhart, evaluation seemed to be used as a strategy for removing teachers rather than as a way of improving instruction. Barnhart observed these teachers, gave them written feedback, and documented their lapses carefully to build a case for their transfer to other schools. In one instance, the principal was documenting the performance of a teacher who could not maintain discipline in her classroom (FN, 9/28/82, p. 10; FN, 9/30/82, p. 9; FN, 10/19/82, p. 3). She observed the classroom at the request of the instructor and spoke to the students about their behavior (FN, 9/30/82, p. 9); following this observation, she wrote a memo to the teacher outlining procedures for handling her class (FN, 10/1/82, p. 6). In conversations with her management team, she expressed her displeasure that although the teacher had worked in the district four years, none of her other principals had documented her work (FN, 9/30/82, p. 8). When a parent complained about this teacher at a parent meeting, Barnhart acknowledged that she was aware of the problem but had only one recourse, to document the teacher's behavior (FN, 10/19/82, p. 3).

In another instance, a teacher had refused to cooperate with school policy for writing course objectives, and Barnhart had been forced to involve district personnel. As a result, this teacher was unwilling to talk to Barnhart this year whenever he entered her office to submit his lesson plans (FN, 10/1/82, pp. 5, 12; I, 10/26/82, p. 6).

Barnhart's use of documentation was not limited to the teaching staff, however. In an episode described earlier, when the principal was settling a dispute between two of her clerical staff, she warned the women that she hoped they would be able to work together harmoniously because "it would pain me to have to document your work" (FN, 10/1/82, p. 9).

Barnhart was also concerned with the performance of her fellow administrators and was, in fact, documenting certain activities of the assistant principal for instruction. Early in the year, she reported to this study's observer that she was trying to build a case for the administrator's transfer to another school for the good of Kirkland (SO, 10/15/82, p. 1). At a later date, Barnhart showed the observer a copy of a letter she had sent to the assistant principal about his mishandling of student schedule dissemination for the second semester; she indicated that this was further documentation to have him transferred (FN, 2/10/83, p. 1). Commenting on the man's performance to date, Barnhart said she had made two requests for his statement of job objectives, but he had still not turned it in. She perceived this behavior as an indication of lack of cooperation and wondered how he could hope to evaluate teachers when he himself could not adhere to school and district policies (I, 2/15/83, p. 1).

The observer thought teachers were well aware of Barnhart's attempt to document other teachers. On the other hand, there seemed to be no evidence that they knew of her attempt to document the assistant principal for instruction, and several people mentioned that they thought she protected her administrative staff, including the assistant principal for administration and the Chapter 1 director, unreasonably. One teacher said:

> I think that too much authority is delegated and then the delegations are not really clear and accountable. I think too often there are things that are done here where it might be said, "This other administrator is in charge" and things are not really taken care of, that loose ends are left all over the place. . . . [Barnhart] is much too defensive and protective of her other administrators, of the people that she delegates authority to.
>
> Now it may very well be that, behind closed doors or when she speaks to the administrators, she might say, "Hey, by the way, you made a mistake here. This was not done properly," and so on and so forth. But I think in terms of the staff being aware of it, I don't think they are. (TI, 2/15/83, pp. 11, 18)

Another teacher described her experiences:

> It's very frustrating working with [the assistant principal for administration] because I don't agree with his modes. And therefore, in turn, it gets frustrating working with [Barnhart] sometimes, because I see her defending him. There were a lot of incidents when I was chairman of [a faculty committee] last year that got a little bit ugly and a little sticky because of that attitude. And I saw her getting in a position of having to defend things that maybe she didn't even want to, but she had to because she was defending him. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 6)

Thus, for most of Kirkland's staff, monitoring and evaluation by the administrators did not appear to have very much influence on their work. Barnhart directed her attention selectively, choosing to make an intensive effort in a few worst cases. And in these instances, her strategy was limited to carrying out the legal requirements of documenting inadequate performances with the intent of eliminating undesirable staff members.

Like her approach to teacher evaluation, Barnhart's approach to teacher in-service was sporadic and low-key. Little (1982) commented on this important aspect of successful schools:

> In . . . successful schools, teachers and administrators [are] more likely to talk together regularly and frequently about the business of instruction . . . more likely to work together to develop lessons, assignments and materials, and more likely to teach one another about new ideas or practices. (p. 40)

Little emphasized the value of school staff members sharing work on teaching under a "norm of collegiality." In this way, teachers learn from each other; ideas acquired through participation in in-service training activities are brought back to colleagues, shared in discussions, and processed for useful incorporation into classroom practice. Facilitating such exchanges of ideas for the improvement of instruction is a key role of the principal. The unique position of the principal in the school organization that permits him or her to support this aspect of staff development is a persistent theme in the literature (e.g., Rosenblum & Jastrzab, n.d.; Showers, 1984).

In-service opportunities for Kirkland's teachers were not governed or determined by formal policy. According to Barnhart, in-service occurred at the request of teachers (IOI, 5/13/83, Part II).

As we have described with regard to other issues, teachers were divided in their perceptions when we inquired about

Barnhart's contributions to their in-service activities and professional development in general. When asked specifically if the principal encouraged teachers' participation in in-service programs, four teachers said "no," five said "yes," and one replied "somewhat" (SFI, 2/22/83, p. 1; SFI, 3/1/83, p. 1; SFI, 3/22/83, p. 1; SFI, 4/27/83, p. 1; SFI, 4/27/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/13/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/26/83, p. 1; SFI, 6/3/83, p. 1; SFI, 6/9/83, p. 1). The examples that teachers provided of ways in which Barnhart encouraged them included information distribution, scheduling staff to attend sessions, referrals, and facilitation.

Teachers reported that their requests to participate in professional development activities were generally approved by Barnhart (TI, 2/17/83, p. 8; TI, 3/22/83, p. 2; TI, 5/26/83, p. 5), although one added that her most recent request for released time to attend a workshop had been "put off" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 8). One teacher praised Barnhart for allowing her to take a workshop not in her field and, as an ardent Barnhart supporter, said the principal was "excellent" at staff development, citing recent talks on stress, drugs, and alcoholism (TI, 5/26/83, pp. 5-6). An art teacher had become interested in a "reading through the arts" program and had made arrangements to go to the conference, which were approved by Barnhart (TI, 3/22/83, p. 2).

It was clear that Barnhart involved herself actively in the professional growth of some people on the staff and let others make their own way. The Re-entry teacher commented that Barnhart not only spoke with him a great deal but had also given him administrative responsibilities during some of her short absences and had guided him toward an administration career:

> She has just referred different ideas or workshops to me or things I should look into, because as she often says, "One of these days, you're going to have to be dealing with these same things." And administration isn't something that I never thought about. . . . She's had a lot of positive influence on my career [and] professional development. (TI, 2/15/83, p. 16)

A math teacher made the following comment:

> Florence is sort of an inspiration to me in terms of how I feel about teaching . . . she's sort of makes me underline the fact that I'm a teacher and that I'm a pretty good teacher and that I want to constantly improve myself through courses, seminars, and stuff like that and interrelating with students. (TI, 6/2/83, p. 10)

A dissenting view was given by a teacher who said that Barnhart had not really influenced her professional development; this teacher added:

> I'm not really sure where she stands on [professional development]. I'm not sure whether she would encourage me to--I know, for example, that she's approached other people on the staff and said, "You really ought to get into administration. You should take these courses and think about it and your future." I'm not really very clear about how she sees me in those terms. I'm not sure whether she cares personally what I do and that's okay. She may not think I'm strong in those areas, so she hasn't said something like that to me. None of which really bothers me. I figure that's basically my own decision. . . . So I don't see her as, you know, putting forth a challenge or a suggestion of anything. (TI, 2/17/83, p. 9)

This same teacher pointed out that her experiences on school committees had contributed to her professional growth: "I think that I learned a lot professionally in terms of dealing with administration through how the Faculty Advisory Council works" (TI, 2/17/83, p. 8).

Although Barnhart generally granted teacher requests to participate in professional development activities, and although she had stated at a faculty meeting that one of the goals for the year was to improve teacher preparation, her activities during the year and teachers' comments indicated that in-service activities or other avenues for professional development received only sporadic attention and emphasis at Kirkland.

Summary: Kirkland's School Ethos

Florence Barnhart's overarching goals for Kirkland Junior High were to create a safe, orderly environment and to improve the school's reputation. In her first two years at the school, she had turned a chaotic school into one with a semblance of order. Students, staff, and community acknowledged the changes at Kirkland and credited Barnhart with the improvement. Although Barnhart recognized the need to improve Kirkland's academic standing, her predominate emphasis at the school during the year of this study continued to be put on matters of discipline and on routine school operations.

In order to continue providing a safe environment, Barnhart supervised the discipline measures that she had initiated to maintain control of students. Having established strict rules for student behavior, she communicated her expectations clearly to students and punished malefactors quickly and consistently. The maintenance of a closed and locked campus aided in enforcing policies to keep students inside and intruders outside the school. In addition, Barnhart supported administrative staff members and teachers who were stern disciplinarians, including those who were heavy-handed and authoritarian; she expected teachers to take responsibility for classroom discipline; and she worked to remove teachers who could not maintain discipline in their classes.

In the realm of social curriculum, Barnhart supported teachers' efforts to improve students' sense of responsibility and self-esteem, and with her own actions she communicated friendliness and warmth to students. There was, however, no organized social curriculum at the school. Efforts to influence student behavior and attitudes were largely concerned with discipline and were aimed at keeping students under control.

Although Barnhart had succeeded in her attempt to bring order to the school, her efforts were not without mixed consequences. Students were aware of adult authority as a set of imposed rules restricting their freedom, and they had to be constantly kept in line. Factionalism existed among the staff, in part due to Barnhart's practice of cultivating a group of supporters and virtually ignoring others. In addition, some teachers disagreed with her methods and disliked members of her "inner circle." Barnhart was aware of how her actions were perceived by staff members, and she worked to keep her actions from being seen in a negative light.

Barnhart was also concerned with the community's perceptions of Kirkland. She had succeeded in improving the school's reputation among parents, due in part to her emphasis on establishing discipline; parents appreciated the fact that their children could attend school safely. The principal also worked to establish good relations with neighboring businesses, which had been plagued in the past by loitering students.

Kirkland's instructional program was typical of most junior high schools in the district, with a core curriculum of required subjects and a number of electives. At Kirkland, this was supplemented by two special programs: the Re-entry program, which was designed for students who had missed school due to attitudinal problems, and the Chapter 1 program, which provided supplemental instruction for students who scored below the 50th percentile on the CTBS. Grouping of students in classrooms included ability-level class assignments in math and English and cross-grade grouping in electives. Teaching techniques were left up to individual teachers, but consisted mainly of traditional whole-class instruction; teachers clearly had to devote time and attention to maintaining discipline in their classes.

Barnhart's involvement in the instructional program at Kirkland was minimal. She had established honors classes in math and English, and aided in the acquisition of computers. Teachers' comments indicated that most thought that Barnhart had not influenced their teaching.

Kirkland's principal did exert some influence, however, in the area of teacher assignment and evaluation. Within the constraints of district procedures, she worked to obtain teachers who could benefit the school; her primary concern was the person's ability to maintain classroom control. Barnhart and her administrative staff performed teacher evaluations through formal assessments, monitoring lesson plans, informal class visits and discussions, and an "open door" policy. Such evaluation strategies were implemented unevenly, however, with more diligent efforts made in cases where administrators perceived a greater need for teacher supervision. Barnhart stepped in most firmly and decisively when she thought a teacher was not maintaining discipline or not being cooperative. She aggressively documented these teachers' performances with the purpose of providing evidence to support their transfer or dismissal.

Thus, the conditions that prevailed at Kirkland during the year of this study could be regarded in multiple ways. On the one hand, conditions at the school had improved considerably as a result of Barnhart's efforts during her tenure as principal. The school environnment was safe, and students were generally orderly. Many students and staff interacted in positive ways and expressed satisfaction with the school. On the other hand, Barnhart did not translate into any direct action her expressed goal to address matters of student learning, some students and teachers experienced very negative associations with others, and the emphasis on discipline and control was pervasive. There was no doubt that Barnhart had been successful in improving some features of the school; equally clear was the fact that there was much work to be done.

PATTERNS AND PROCESSES
IN THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE AS INSTRUCTIONAL LEADER

Finding Instructional Leadership in Principals' Routine Actions

We want to remind the reader, after this long descriptive narrative about Florence Barnhart and Kirkland Junior High School, that our collaboration with this principal and others began as we sought to understand the principal's role in instructional leadership and management. We turned first to prior research about principals and found a major contradiction: While descriptive studies argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with instructional matters (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979), effective-school studies proffered the centrality of principals in the development of potent instructional organizations (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979).

Attempting to resolve this enigma, we interviewed dozens of principals and completed an intensive, eight-week pilot study. Based on these preliminary efforts, we strongly suspected that principals could be key agents in the creation of successful instructional settings:

> The intensiveness of the method employed in [our pilot studies] has allowed a very different concept of leadership behavior to emerge. This concept is one that visualizes instructional leadership accruing from the repetition of routine and mundane acts performed in accord with principals' overarching perspectives on schooling.
>
> If such is the case, research procedures must be finely tuned and pervasive enough in the school to reveal those behaviors and trace their effects. A lack of such thorough and field-based procedures may account for the frequent report that principals are not effective instructional leaders or that they do not occupy themselves with instructional matters. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 57)

This statement contained both conceptual and methodological premises that were distinct from those embodied in other studies about school principals.

Conceptually, we began our yearlong studies of principals attuned to the importance of routine activities like the ones we had noted during our pilot work: monitoring, controlling and exchanging information, planning, interacting with students, hiring and training staff, and overseeing building maintenance. We had written about these behaviors:

> These are the routine and mundane acts through which principals can assess the working status of their organizations and the progress of their schools relative to long-term goals. They are the acts which allow principals to alter the course of events midstream: to return aberrant student behavior to acceptable norms; to suggest changes in teaching style or intervene to demonstrate a preferred form of instruction; to develop student, teacher, or community support for programs already underway; to develop an awareness of changes in the organization that must be made in the future. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 54)

The "success" of these actions for instructional management, we wrote, "hinges . . . on the principal's capacity to connect them to the instructional system" (p. 54), for we had found that the principals with whom we worked believed that they could and did influence the instructional systems in their schools.

We also found that each of our principals held a working theory of his or her instructional system--an overarching perspective--that guided his or her actions. Those overarching perspectives were complex constellations of personal experience, community and district "givens," principals' behaviors, and instructional climate and organization variables that offered both direct and circuitous routes along which principals could influence their schools and the experiences their students encountered daily. (Our generalized model is illustrated in Figure 1 in the Foreword.)

The purposes of principals' actions, however, were not always transparent, and the consequences of their activities were not necessarily immediate. In addition, the impact of routine behaviors might be cumulative; we would have to watch the same actions again and again before we could see noticeable change in the instructional systems of our schools. Thus, finding the subtle linkages between principals' actions and instructional outcomes in schools would require the most intensive effort we could mount; we needed to spend as much time as possible in our schools; we needed to question participants in the scenes we witnessed about their interactions, and about the purposes and outcomes of principals' actions.

We accomplished this intensive examination of the daily work of principals primarily with a combination of observation and interview procedures which we called the shadow and the reflective interview. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a full description of these procedures.) The intensive application of the full range of our inquiry activities aligned our work with the research tradition variously called educational ethnography, participant observation, or case study by its leading practitioners (e.g., Becker, Greer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Cicourel et al., 1974; L. M. Smith, 1978; Spindler, 1982; Walker, 1932; Wax, Wax, & DuMont, 1964).

We spent over a thousand hours in our 12 schools, an effort that yielded approximately 10,000 pages of descriptive material about the work of principals. When we analyzed this body of material to discover simply what principals do, we found that their activities could be broken down into nine categories of principals' routine behaviors:

Goal Setting & Planning: Defining or determining future outcomes. Making decisions about, or formulating means for, achieving those ends.

Monitoring: Reviewing, watching, checking, being present without a formal evaluation intended.

Evaluating: Appraising or judging with regard to persons, programs, material, etc. May include providing feedback.

Communicating: Various forms of verbal exchange, including greeting, informing, counseling, commenting, etc. Also includes forms of nonverbal communication such as physical contacts, gestures, and facial expressions.

Scheduling, Allocating Resources, & Organizing: Making decisions about allocations of time, space, materials, personnel, and energy. Arranging or coordinating projects, programs, or events.

Staffing: Hiring and placement of teaching staff, specialists, and support personnel.

Modeling: Demonstrating teaching techniques or strategies of interaction for teachers, other staff, parents, or students.

> **Governing:** Decision making with regard to policy. Legislating, enforcing policy or rules.
>
> **Filling In:** Substituting for another staff member (nurse, maintenance person, secretary, teacher) on a temporary basis.

We found that well over 50% of our observations of principals fit the Communicating category and that Monitoring, Scheduling/Allocating Resources/Organizing, and Governing encompassed most of our remaining observations. Analyzing our interviews with teachers about what principals do produced nearly an identical profile.

Our profiles of what principals do in their schools--their behaviors--illustrate, again, what many others have reported: Principals' activities are typically very short, face-to-face interactions with students, teachers, parents, or other participants in school organizations; their interactions usually occur almost anywhere but in their own offices; and the topics of their interactions change frequently and abruptly. A study by Morris, Crowson, Hurwitz, and Porter-Gehrie (1982), for example, reported that the principal's day is composed of "school monitoring behaviors," "serving as school spokesperson," "serving the school staff internally as a disseminator of information," and "serving the school as both disturbance handler and resource allocator" (p. 689). Another study (Martin & Willower, 1981) likened the principal's work to private sector management after a Mintzberg-type study of the activities of school principals. They, too, found that principals' work is characterized by "variety, brevity, and fragmentation" (p. 79), and that the preponderance (84.8%) of the activities of the principals who participated in their study involved "purely verbal elements" (p. 80).

These researchers concluded from their observations that the principal's role as an instructional leader is relatively minor. Morris and his colleagues stated that "instructional leadership (in terms of classroom observation and teacher supervision) is not the central focus of the principalship" (p. 689), while Martin and Willower reported:

> Perhaps the most widely heralded role of the principal is that of instructional leader, which conjures up images of a task routine dominated by the generation of innovative curricula and novel teaching strategies. The principals in this study spent 17.4% of their time on instructional matters. . . . The majority of the routine education of youngsters that occurred in the schools was clearly the province of the teaching staff. (p. 83)

Another recent study by Newburg and Glatthorn (1983) also concluded that "for the most part principals do not provide instructional leadership" (p. v).

The major problem with these studies, we believe, lies in an overly narrow conception of instructional leadership that is implicitly rational and bureaucratic, despite the fact that principals work in organizations that have been described as "loosely coupled" (Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Weick, 1976) and even "disorderly" (Perrow, 1982). Only those behaviors that were directly and formally concerned with instruction were examined, and researchers acknowledged that they could make little sense of the vast majority of principals' activities. The Morris group wrote:

> Everything seems to blend together in an undifferentiated jumble of activities that are presumably related, however remotely, to the ongoing rhythm and purpose of the larger enterprise. (1982, p. 689)

The major purpose of our study was to untangle that previously "undifferentiated jumble" of principal behaviors to see how the principal influenced instruction through the culture of the school (Firestone & Wilson, 1983) or through the exercise of routine activities (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). To take this necessary step, we examined the meanings principals and other participants in the school settings attributed to principals' activities. As both Greenfield (1982) and Bridges (1982) had recommended, we probed for the antecedents and consequences of principals' behaviors.

We considered the entire range of behaviors from the thousands of pages that we had acquired during our yearlong study, looking for the purposes of those acts--the targets of principals' activities. The reflective interviews proved to be the most revealing documents, since they captured insiders' perspectives about the meanings of principals' actions. Again, we produced a list of categories that encompassed all of our episodes. These "targets" or purposes included:

> **Work Structure**: All components related to the task of delivering instruction.
>
> **Staff Relations**: Outcomes concerning the feelings and/or personal needs of individual staff members.
>
> **Student Relations**: Outcomes concerning the feelings, attitudes, or personal needs (academic, social, or psychological) of students.
>
> **Safety & Order**: Features of the physical organization, rules, and procedures of the

school that influence the safety of members and the capacity of members to carry out their work.

Plant & Equipment: Elements of the physical plant such as the building, grounds, audiovisual equipment, office machines, etc.

Community Relations: Outcomes concerning the attitudes and involvement of parents or other community members.

Institutional Relations: Outcomes related to the district office, other schools, or other formal organizations outside the school.

Institutional Ethos: School culture or spirit. May refer to features of the school program or to a "tone" that contributes to the school's unique identity and constitutes shared meaning among members of the school organization.

Combining the nine types of routine behaviors previously discussed with these eight targets or purposes provided a matrix of 72 discrete action cells. Combining behavior with purpose in this manner helped reveal patterns in the previously chaotic impressions of principals' actions. Sometimes these patterns were related to contextual or personal idiosyncrasies in the settings; sometimes they could be attributed to principals' carefully reasoned approaches. But in all instances, we found interesting leadership stories, where principals strived within their limits to set conditions for, or the parameters of, instruction.

In this manner, we believe we have taken a significant step in revealing various ways in which principals can exercise instructional leadership. The remaining section of this case study of Principal Florence Barnhart discusses the results of our analysis of her routine behaviors and illustrates the manner in which we believe Barnhart led the instructional program at her school.

Barnhart's Enactment of Instructional Leadership

We have related the disparate opinions about the role of the principal as instructional leader found in the research literature. Further, we have noted the importance we place on the routine actions of principals--what other researchers have called an "undifferentiated jumble" of activities; we believe that principals can use their routine activities to influence their instructional organizations significantly. In this final section of the Florence Barnhart case study, we will delve into that jumble, find an order that is related to the specific context in which Barnhart worked, and disclose a cogent picture of Barnhart's role as instructional leader at Kirkland Junior High School.

By introducing Kirkland's setting and actors, portraying a day in the life of Florence Barnhart, and describing the instructional climate and organization of the school, we presented a plethora of details about Kirkland Junior High. The purpose of our narrative was to give the reader a holistic impression of this setting and principal. Yet, while the narrative does provide the necessary background for our story of instructional leadership, we must now construe the data to illuminate Barnhart's role and the impact of her routine actions in that organization.

The result of our sorting hundreds of Barnhart's activities into the nine behavior categories established in our analysis (see pages 83-84) is presented in Figure 2 (p. 88), "Distribution of Principal Barnhart's Routine Behaviors." This figure graphically illustrates what Barnhart did in her school during the time we spent there. In this display we can see that (like every other principal in our study) Barnhart engaged most routinely in verbal exchanges, evidenced by the preponderance of Communicating (60.1%) in the distribution. One easily recalls from the descriptions in the preceding sections how often Barnhart talked with teachers, students, parents, other administrators, and campus supervisors.

Figure 2 also illustrates that substantial numbers of Barnhart's activities could be described as acts of Governing (14.1%); Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing (10.7%); and Monitoring (7.1%). The reader will recall from the narrative specific examples of these generalized behaviors: Barnhart directing other staff members in matters of student discipline; coordinating such varied operations as linen delivery and the implementation of standardized testing; meeting regularly with administrators and campus supervisors to exchange ideas and information and to resolve issues related to school operations and policies; and supervising the corridors and lunchroom on a daily basis. Barnhart utilized Evaluating (3.6%), Staffing (2.9%), Filling In (1.1%), and Modeling (0.4%) relatively little. Goal Setting (0%) was not part of Barnhart's routine behaviors while we were in the setting, but the reader should remember her comments in the narrative about the importance of this activity when she first assumed the principalship at Kirkland.

Although this breakdown of Barnhart's behaviors highlights her preference for conducting school business face-to-face, it does not reveal the purposes of her activities or the consequences of her acts. The all-important next step in understanding principals' roles is to discover why they do what they do. On pages 85-86, we described eight categories of motives that encompassed the rationales that principals, teachers, and students assigned to the behaviors of the principals that we witnessed in our 12 research settings. When these meanings are added to principals' behaviors, the resulting

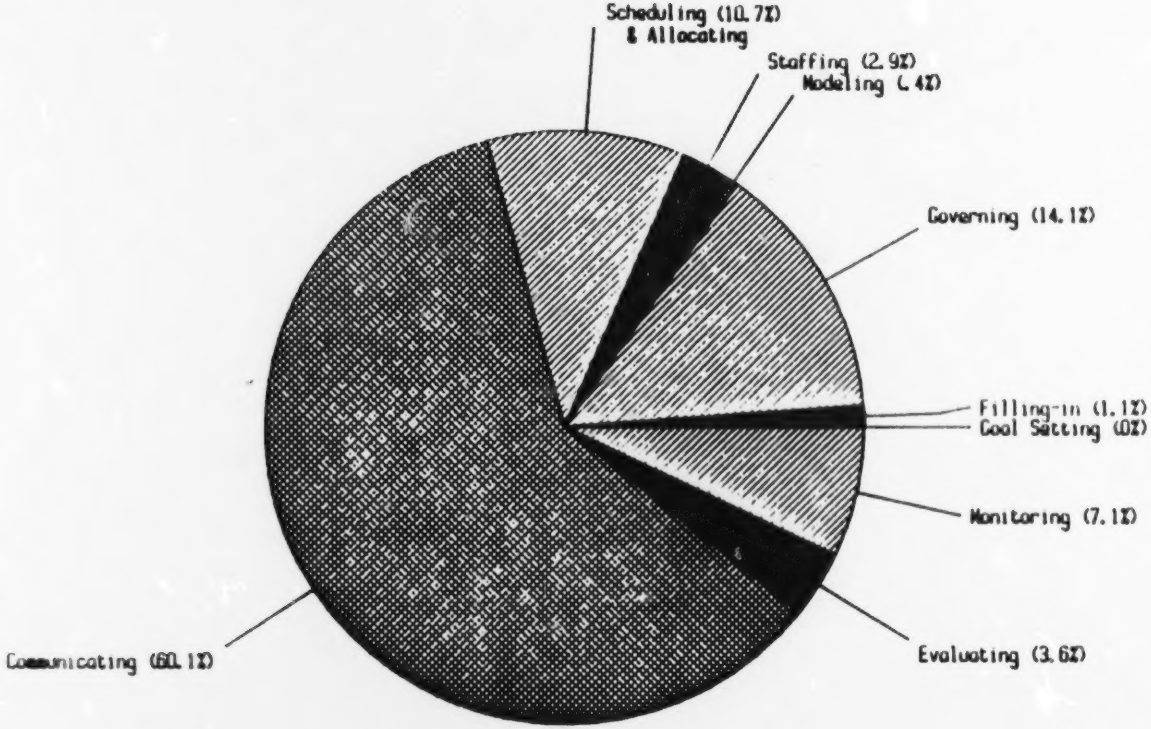

Figure 2: Distribution of Principal Barnhart's Routine Behaviors

combination portrays purposeful actions that were previously masked by the frenetic nature of principals' work.

In Barnhart's case, the four largest clusters of her behaviors at Kirkland, examined in sequence, illustrate the extent to which Barnhart's actions focused on the work structure of her school--all those proximal or distal components related to the delivery of instruction. (See Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6, on pages 90, 91, 92, and 93.) The pie charts illustrate that Kirkland's work structure was the primary target of many of Barnhart's most routine behaviors. In fact, about 37% of Barnhart's activities were aimed at influencing some aspect of the work structure. The same figures indicate that the second most common target of her routine behaviors was safety and order at Kirkland (22%). Other less frequent, but nevertheless important, objects of her attention were student relations and staff relations.

Further, if we examine the 72 combinations of principal behaviors and targets in our analytic scheme, we find that 87% of Barnhart's actions fall into only 11 of those cells. Rank ordered, her most routine actions included:

Communicating/Work Structure (14%)
Communicating/Student Relations (12%)
Communicating/Staff Relations (10%)
Communicating/Safety and Order (9%)
Governing/Safety and Order (8%)
Communicating/Community Relations (8%)
Scheduling, Allocating Resources/Work Structure (7%)
Communicating/Institutional Relations (6%)
Governing/Work Structure (6%)
Monitoring/Safety and Order (4%)
Monitoring/Work Structure (3%)

If we add to this array of Principal Barnhart's most routine actions the facts presented in the narrative about the school's community and district, Barnhart's own background and beliefs, the nature of the instructional climate and organization at Kirkland, and Barnhart's aspirations for her school and her students, we get a very complete picture of Kirkland Junior High School. The meaning or purpose of Barnhart's "jumble" of routine actions also becomes clear.

The general model we illustrated in Figure 1 (p. v) can be used to frame an overarching perspective of instructional management at Kirkland. The community and institutional contexts are fundamental system "givens," aspects of the Kirkland context that influenced Barnhart, but over which she had little control. Important characteristics of the community Kirkland served included its inner-city locale, its racial homogeneity, and the predominately low socioeconomic status of its families. The primary institutional factor that Barnhart dealt with was the complex bureaucracy of the Everett School District, of which Kirkland was a part. At the time of this study, the district was

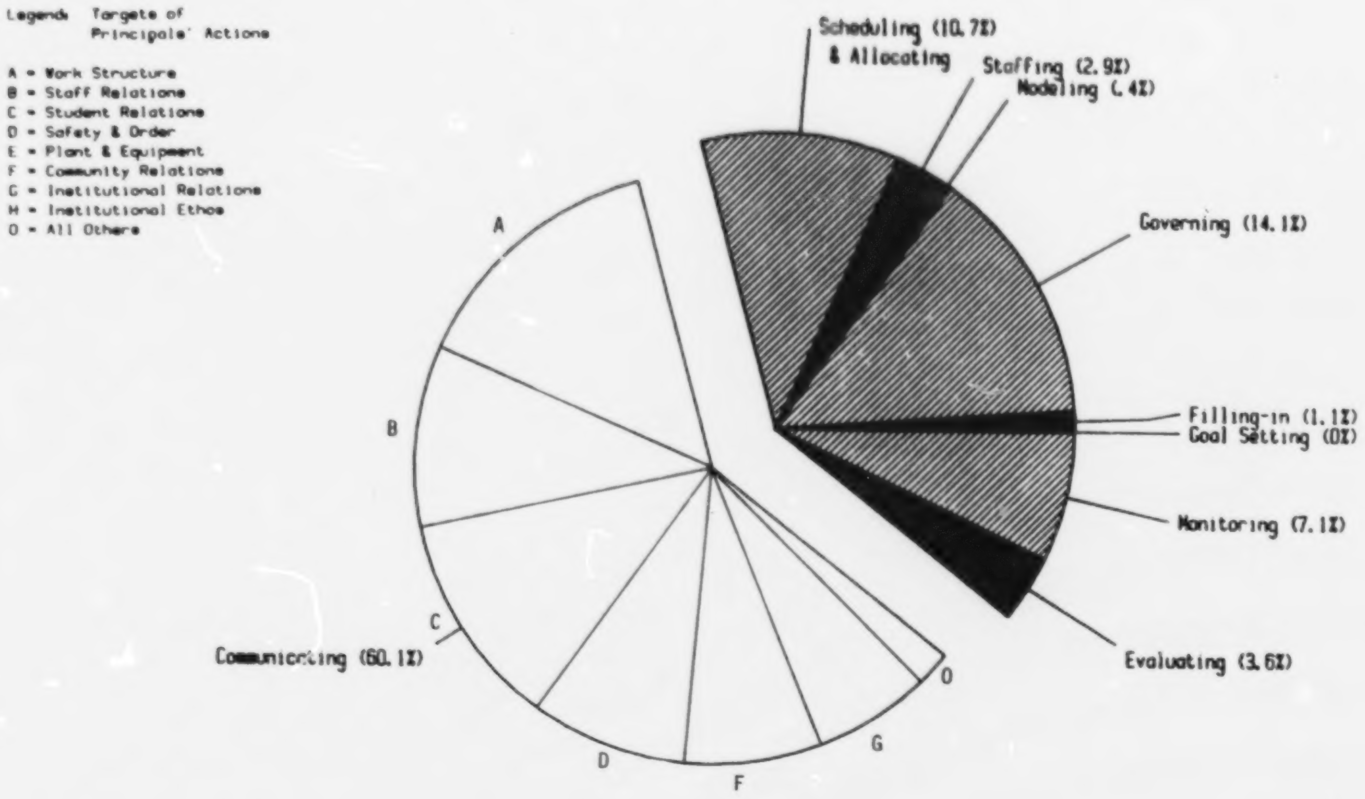

Figure 3: Distribution of Principal Barnhart's Routine Actions: Communicating

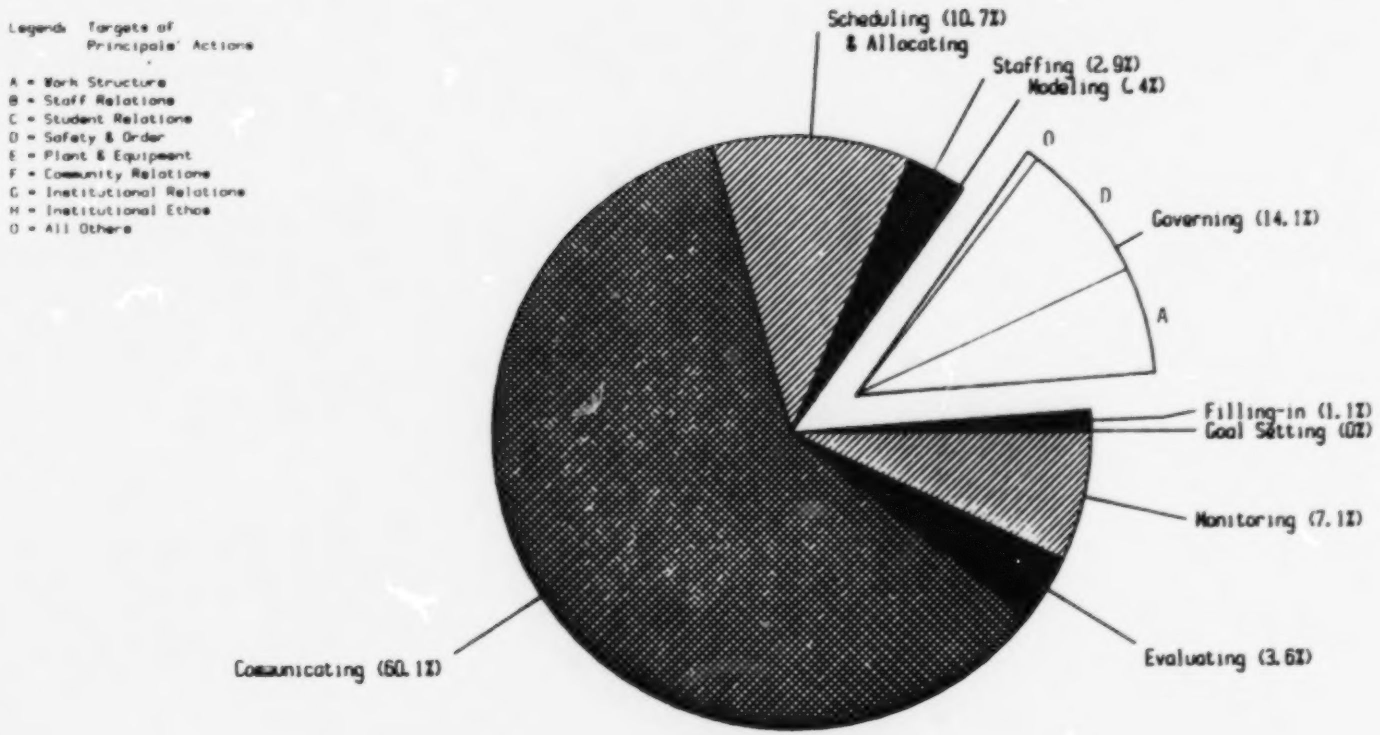

Figure 4: Distribution of Principal Barnhart's Routine Actions: Governing

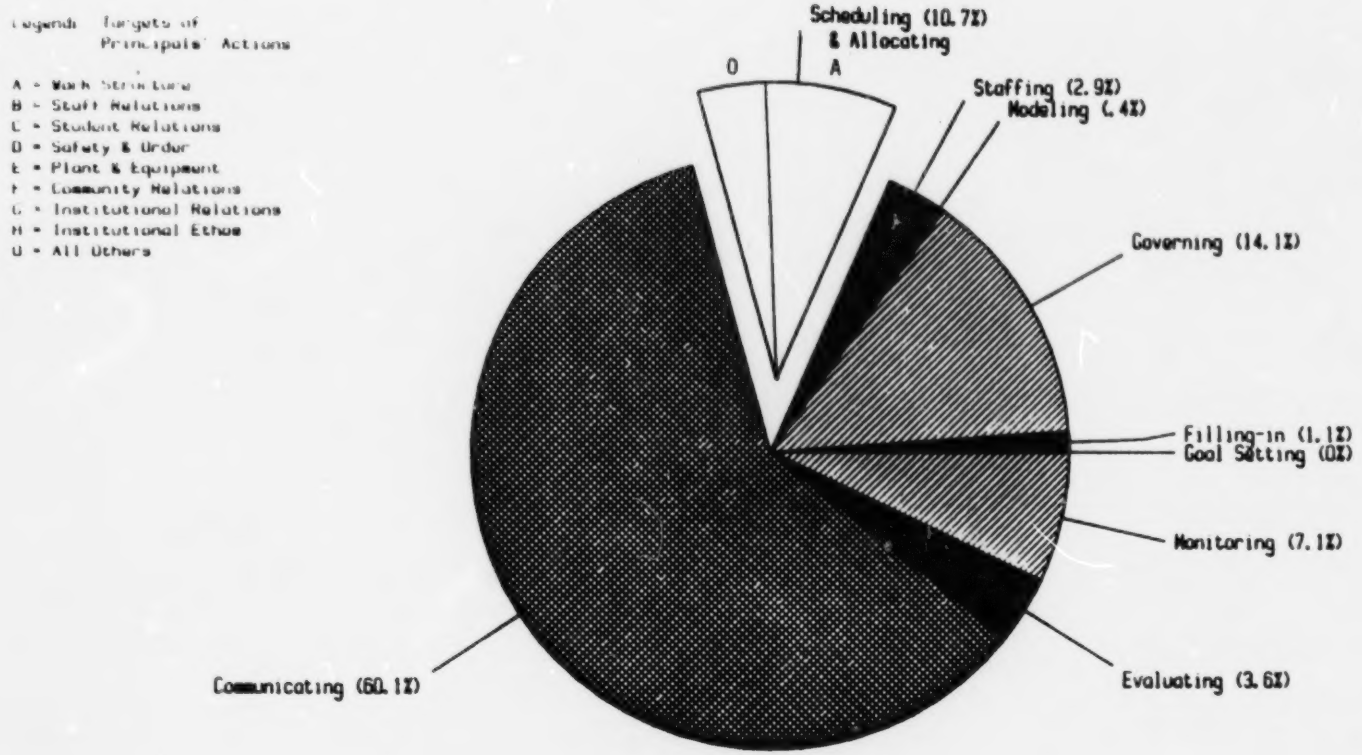

Figure 5: Distribution of Principal Barnhart's Routine Actions: Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing

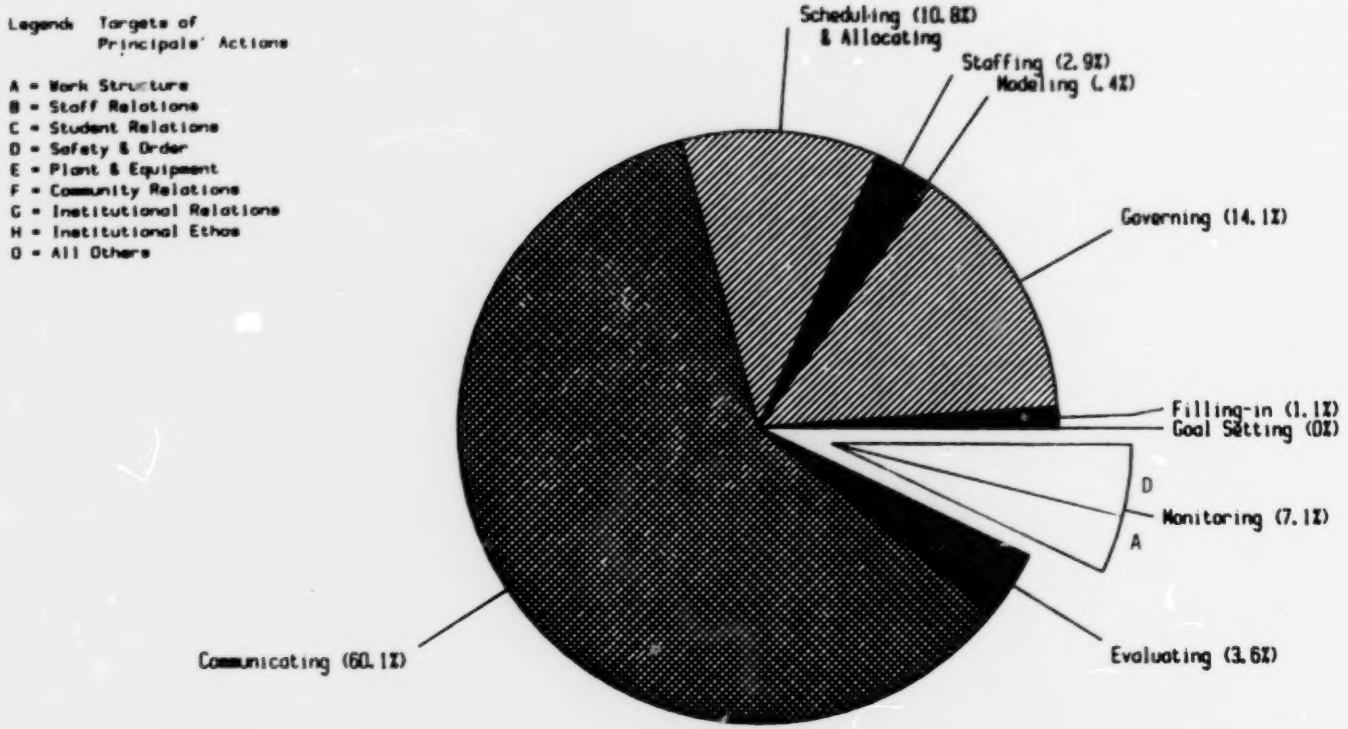

Figure 6: Distribution of Principal Barnhart's Routine Actions: Monitoring

experiencing declines in student enrollment. Therefore, Everett principals who needed to augment their staffs were limited to selections, generally made by the central office, from the pool of available excess teachers; this complicated Barnhart's staffing task as she tried to obtain teachers who were capable of working with the school's student population.

The conditions that Barnhart encountered at Kirkland itself presented another set of "givens" with which she had to contend. We have described the situation as chaotic, with the work of teaching and learning being hampered by student fights, student absenteeism, and low teacher morale. In addition, the task of instructing Kirkland's students was made more difficult by low student achievement levels: The majority of the school's students scored below national norms on standardized tests in reading, language arts, and math.

Other specifics about the situation that Barnhart faced that first year were provided by Gerald Adams, the assistant principal for administration, who had arrived at Kirkland in the middle of the year. The first student he spoke to was a boy who was loitering in the halls during class time; he approached the student and said, "Son, how about going to class?" Adams reported that the student backed off and replied, "What the fuck's wrong with you?" After his initial shock, Adams forcefully sent the student to class. The boy walked off muttering under his breath that the assistant principal was "fucking crazy" (I, 10/15/82, p. 1). Adams described other student behavior problems he encountered: gang fights, students smoking in the hallways, students in front of the building during class time, students and intruders smoking marijuana in classrooms and at school-sponsored dances (I, 10/15/82, pp. 1-2).

The situation with staff during that first year was another source of problems, according to Adams. The secretary in the main office was in the habit of delivering ultimatums to the administrators, telling them, for example, when she expected them to turn work in to her. Teachers left their classes in charge of noncertificated instructional aides. Other teachers sold candy during passing periods between classes. Administrators did not visit teachers' classrooms (I, 10/15/82, pp. 2-4).

Barnhart's initial response to the chaos that prevailed at Kirkland on her first day of school, we have noted earlier, was to telephone the superintendent and say that she did not want the job (TI, 9/10/82, p. 5). She acknowledged the problems that Adams mentioned with regard to staff, stating that "key people within the school didn't have control" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 5). Besides facing problems at Kirkland that needed intensive remediation, Barnhart also had to contend with the highly negative reputation the school had acquired in the community and district.

Barnhart's personal qualities were especially suited to this enormous challenge. Not the least of these was her own readiness for an opportunity to move ahead in her career. Having been in her previous school for 11 years, most recently as assistant principal, Barnhart reported that she "told the principal at the time that I was going to apply for the first thing that came out. And it just so happened, it was the principalship at Kirkland" (TI, 9/10/82, pp. 2-3).

Barnhart attributed her sense of confidence in her ability to meet the challenge of a principalship to both her personal and professional history. Her family instilled in her the belief that "I was going to be good at what I was doing and I was going to be successful" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 2). And she had received professional support in her career with the Everett School District from an administrator, Dr. McInnis, with whom she had worked for many years at her previous school: "He just sort of guided me into the position that I'm in now" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 2). These individuals, together with the influence of a strong religious background, helped Barnhart develop the confidence and commitment to meet the challenge of leading Kirkland.

Another resource that Barnhart brought with her to Kirkland was her 12 years' experience as a counselor. We have described in the narrative, for example, how Barnhart secured the cooperation of individuals using all of the following strategies: dictating expectations directly and authoritatively; soliciting ideas democratically; arguing persuasively; challenging; and asking directly for help. We have cited teachers' comments regarding Barnhart's "eloquent" style of public speaking, her shrewdness, and her excellent communication skills. We have described her interactions with students, ranging from bantering to friendly warnings to using their own "street language" as she threatened them with the consequences of disobedience. This wide range of strategies demonstrates the breadth of human relations skills upon which Barnhart was able to draw as she dealt with Kirkland's students, teachers, and community.

Finally, Barnhart brought with her to Kirkland an excellent relationship with the district's central administration. Dr. McInnis, who had guided her into an administrative career, was now her immediate supervisor; this fact, plus Barnhart's years of experience in the Everett district, contributed to her ability to deal with the complicated district bureaucracy. Barnhart herself attributed part of her survival at Kirkland to her "good relationship with the district" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 11). She described the importance of that relationship in allowing her to carry out her tasks at Kirkland:

> I feel that I have been given leeway as far as running this school. And I've said to people in the district, "Let me do the job. And I'm not going to do anything that will jeopardize me or jeopardize my job or get anybody in trouble. But just give me the leeway to do what I have to do." And they have. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 11)

Thus, Barnhart brought to the principalship a set of personal and professional experiences, relationships, and attitudes that constituted another set of "givens" in her new situation. These she was able to bring to bear on the circumstances that she encountered in the school, district, and community.

This combination of principal characteristics and conditions in the setting account for the kinds of goals Barnhart established for Kirkland. First and foremost, as we have noted, she was aware of the urgent need to bring some order and control to Kirkland. The environment was not a safe one for many students, and the school was so disorderly that little learning could take place. Barnhart's goal was to oust students who did not belong at Kirkland and to establish standards of discipline among those who remained. She was well aware that she could not begin to address matters of instruction unless she had first created the kinds of conditions that would allow teaching and learning to occur.

The goal of maintaining a safe and orderly school environment remained a priority throughout Barnhart's administration at Kirkland. By her third year of leadership at the school, the year of this study, however, the establishment of order had made it possible for her to add other goals to that most basic one. Barnhart spoke explicitly, for example, of the need to improve student achievement at the school, and she communicated that goal formally to her staff at the opening faculty meeting. In addition, her actions during this third year illustrated her hope of retaining more capable students at Kirkland, her awareness of the need to improve the quality of staff, and her recognition of the importance of developing and maintaining positive relations with members of the community.

Establishing the Instructional Climate: As did other principals in our study, Barnhart addressed two aspects of the school framework in imparting her school goals: the instructional climate and the instructional organization. (Again, the reader may wish to refer to the framework on page v.) Barnhart's influence was most evident in its effect on climate at Kirkland. Many of her routine actions had direct consequences for shaping a safe and orderly school environment in which the work of teaching and learning could take place.

We speculate that at least two factors contributed to this focus. First of all, as we have described, the school setting itself demanded that immediate and continued attention be directed toward improving a chaotic, dysfunctional learning environment. Barnhart realized that learning would not take place at Kirkland until this situation was corrected, and she was also aware of the extent to which the highly visible lack of safety and order had contributed to the school's negative reputation in the community. Secondly, even though Barnhart recognized the need to improve student learning at Kirkland, her own professional training and past experiences did not provide her with the expertise to address this matter directly. Thus, she continued to direct her influence largely at factors associated with the school climate, particularly matters of discipline.

While much of Barnhart's attention to climate focused on matters of safety and order, we want to point out that she also worked to maintain positive relations with students, staff, and community. As she stated when she described her beliefs about leadership:

> I believe that half of any job is getting along with people. And I don't believe, in fact I know, that a leader must be able to deal with people first, before they can deal with anything else that goes on in the school. And that's where I always come from. Let's get along together, work together in a cooperative way first, before we deal with anything else. (TI, 9/10/82, p. 3)

Thus, Barnhart attempted to create at Kirkland an environment that was not only safe and orderly, but was also typified by cordial interactions among participants.

We have described the environment at Kirkland as relatively orderly, and we have mentioned that the principal was no longer required to use extreme disciplinary measures to maintain this situation. Although many of Barnhart's routine activities did, indeed, concern matters of safety and order, her interactions around this target were generally accomplished without hostility, conflict, or excessive authoritarianism. Many of her actions to promote and maintain standards of discipline at Kirkland were acts of communication with students and staff. She also used monitoring and governing as strategies to accomplish her aim of keeping the school in order. (See Figures 3, 4, and 6 on pages 90, 91, and 93.)

Recognizing the challenges that the school's students presented to teachers, Barnhart attempted to create the most favorable conditions for maintaining discipline. She realized that unless teachers and administrators worked together on the problem, the task for both groups would be all the more difficult. Near the start of the school year, she was careful to explain to teachers the changes in discipline procedures. When some new teachers later expressed concern at the amount of time that was required to maintain discipline, Barnhart's reply communicated both her willingness to support staff in this endeavor and her expectation that teachers would take primary responsibility for managing order in their classrooms.

Among her staff, the persons with whom Barnhart interacted most frequently regarding discipline matters were the campus supervisors and the assistant principal for administration, Gerald Adams, who were most closely associated with enforcing discipline rules in the school as a whole. These persons spoke frequently with Barnhart to apprise her of situations, share humorous incidents with her, and discuss their strategies for working with particularly challenging students. Such interactions allowed Barnhart to keep her finger on the pulse of safety and order at Kirkland and still delegate a good deal of the responsibility for supervising students.

Barnhart was also able to stay in touch with student deportment through her own monitoring activities. As she supervised corridors during passing periods and the cafeteria and grounds during lunch hour, she intervened whenever she observed students disobeying school rules. Frequently she informed students about her expectations for their behavior, and she sometimes warned them of the consequences of their actions. In many instances, she directed them to change their behavior: instructing some to remove their hats in the building; sending loiterers to their classes; intervening between youngsters who were trading mock punches; sending nonstudents away from the campus; telling others to confine their eating to approved locations; and instructing careless boys and girls to pick up their litter.

There were, however, many situations in which Barnhart was required to do more than communicate expectations to students or correct minor infractions of rules as they occurred. In these cases, her actions were always stern and decisive, communicating to students that she would not tolerate inappropriate behavior. On the first day of school, for example, she suspended two students who had been running around campus for part of the day instead of going to their classes. When students were brought to her for fighting, even though they protested that they were just fooling around, she assigned them to after-school detention. She sent home those students who were rude to the campus supervisors and did not allow them to return until parent conferences were arranged.

In some situations, Barnhart's reactions to infractions were more severe. When a student refused to report for detention, for example, she pulled him off his job in the school cafeteria, forcing him to suffer the financial repercussions of a week without work (FN, 5/11/83, p. 4). Another student had been forced to enroll at a private school because of conflicts he had had at Kirkland. When the student phoned Barnhart and asked to be readmitted to Kirkland, the principal challenged him to try to convince her. After a few minutes, she told him that the original problem still seemed to exist and that his use of racially derogatory language would only get him in trouble at Kirkland. She would not allow him to return (FN, 5/11/83, p. 13).

Thus, Barnhart promoted and maintained safety and order at Kirkland by using a variety of strategies, including clear communication, direct intervention, and decisive assignment of punishments. Students recognized her authority and realized that she would brook no nonsense; they knew that the principal's word was final. Staff, especially the campus supervisors and assistant principals, knew that Barnhart would treat firmly and swiftly students who had misbehaved. The principal's actions conveyed the importance she placed on safety and order and her unwavering insistence that discipline prevail at Kirkland.

Although Barnhart's emphasis on discipline was pervasive, our observer noted that the principal's interactions with members of the school community were most often warm, cordial, and considerate. When he mentioned this to her, Barnhart said that this had not always been the case; when she first came to Kirkland, she did not have time to be warm and cordial (I, 10/18/82, p. 5). However, the climate at the school had improved enough during Barnhart's tenure so that she was now able to take time to socialize with staff and students.

We have already noted that Barnhart's exchanges with youngsters as she supervised the campus included warning them patiently and firmly about maintaining appropriate standards of behavior. Her exchanges with students were not limited to admonishing them, however; positive interactions between the principal and students occurred under a variety of circumstances. As she walked about campus, for example, she greeted many students by name and inquired how they were doing. Sometimes she teased and joked; at other times, she exchanged a hug with a youngster. When Barnhart saw opportunities to praise students for good behavior and cooperation, she did so, often in front of groups of their peers. Students approached her to ask questions or simply to chat. As a result, many of Kirkland's students, especially those who conformed to adults' expectations, experienced the more relaxed and congenial qualities of their principal.

The same was true for staff. Brief encounters that occurred between Barnhart and teachers in passing were cordial and friendly. When she knew they faced difficult tasks, Barnhart offered reassurance and stressed her willingness to support them in their efforts. Her practice of adding a proverb to the minutes of meetings that she distributed to staff was described by one teacher as an inspirational strategy. But there was never any doubt at Kirkland about who was boss, and staff members who failed to meet Barnhart's expectations were reprimanded by the principal, sometimes verbally and sometimes through formal documentation of their behavior in an effort to have them removed from the school. We have described earlier the most extreme social outcome of this practice, the teacher who would no longer speak to Barnhart when he came into her office to deliver the mandated lesson plans.

Barnhart's actions to improve the instructional climate at Kirkland had varied consequences. She had been successful in bringing discipline standards to the school. Together with Gerald Adams, the administrative assistant principal, she had made it clear to school participants that order, once established, would continue to prevail. Most teachers and students expressed gratitude for the changes she had made. With the hard work of gaining control accomplished, Barnhart was able to shift her own style of interaction to a more cordial one. Yet, beneath the cordial exterior, Barnhart was prepared to take decisive and emphatic action against students and staff who did not conform to expectations.

As a result, the climate at Kirkland was not without certain tensions. These were complicated in some instances by the heavy-handed tactics of those staff members upon whom Barnhart relied to help maintain order at the school: the administrative assistant principal, the campus supervisors, and some of the teachers. However willing Barnhart may have been to express elements of warmth, caring, and concern in her interactions, we speculate that she considered the success of her leadership at Kirkland to depend to a great extent on her ability to achieve conformity by students and staff to the rules and procedures that she considered necessary for the smooth operation of the school. Faced with an extraordinarily difficult task when she assumed leadership at Kirkland, she had declared herself in the first staff meeting to be a "benevolent dictator." By enacting her leadership at Kirkland in this manner, she contributed to a climate that was much safer and more orderly and that provided some participants with high degrees of satisfaction, but that engendered disgruntlement on the part of others, students and staff alike.

The discussion thus far has described Barnhart's actions to shape two areas of climate within the school--discipline and relations among participants. She also devoted a substantial amount of attention to a third area associated with school climate--community relations. (Refer to Figure 3, p. 90.) Knowing the importance of improving Kirkland's reputation in the community, Barnhart again used her skills as a "benevolent dictator" to achieve that end. When she first assumed the principalship at Kirkland, Barnhart recognized the lack of community support and deliberately chose to work without that resource. She described parents at that time as "[accustomed] to coming in, giving everybody a bad time, [and] cussing people out" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 8). By the year of this study, however, her relations with both parents and businesses in the community were positive, as we have described earlier.

Most of Barnhart's interactions with community members were with parents of Kirkland students. We have described in a previous section her efforts to convince some parents to allow their youngsters to enroll at Kirkland. More commonly, she communicated with parents regarding matters of student discipline or other problems that students were having at school. Parents were routinely phoned, for example, when their children had been assigned to after-school detention. The parent of a youngster with a serious truancy problem was referred to a district committee.

As in her interactions with staff and students, Barnhart's manner of dealing with parents was cordial whenever possible; however, again there was no doubt about who was in charge and who was making decisions. We have described, for example, Barnhart's manner of fielding parents' complaints in an advisory committee meeting. She appealed to their sense of shared interest in the school, provided assurances that she would look into specific situations, and cited district policy when necessary. In all instances, her manner communicated an appreciation for the parent's interest and viewpoint, an implicit statement that she was doing the best possible under the circumstances, and an unspoken expectation that the parent would cooperate with the principal's decision. Again, we can see Barnhart attempting to establish and maintain positive relations with a group of Kirkland participants, but striving to make this occur on her own terms.

Although Barnhart may have been willing at first to operate without the support of the community, she strove to maintain positive ties with Everett's central office administration. She perceived the district leaders as having given her "leeway" to do her job at Kirkland and attributed part of her "survival" at Kirkland to her good relationship with the central office. During her second year at Kirkland, she reported, she had been involved in a number of district committees. She felt that she needed to accept these assignments to maintain her good ties with the district but admitted that her participation had taken her away from the school site too often (TI, 9/10/82, p. 12). During the year of this study, we did not observe her participating in such committees, but she did perform a service for the district by accepting during the second semester an additional administrator. This woman had been experiencing conflicts in her regular assignment and did not believe that she would receive a fair evaluation at that school; the district superintendent asked Barnhart to allow the woman to work at Kirkland and to evaluate her. In agreeing to do so, Barnhart made it clear to the superintendent that she considered this a favor that warranted one in return (TI, 2/10/83, p. 3).

Barnhart's other interactions with the district were more routine. Sometimes she communicated with the central office on matters of bureaucracy, such as enrollment counts and audits. Requests for staffing, however, had more immediate consequences for Kirkland's operations. Early in the year, for example, after several attempts, she persuaded an assistant superintendent to come out to the school for a tour so that he could see first-hand the overcrowded conditions (FN, 9/28/82, p. 2). On another occasion, she negotiated with a subject-matter supervisor for a new teacher to fill an open teaching slot (FN, 9/24/82, p. 7). She also communicated with a district representative about her negotiations with the recalcitrant teacher who would not turn in his objectives. In all of these instances, she tried to work through district channels to make the best possible staffing arrangements for the school.

One consequence of Barnhart's positive relations with the Everett district was perhaps unanticipated. We have mentioned earlier that many of her staff members were aware of her positive reputation with the central administration. Some speculated that she had been deliberately chosen as principal of Kirkland with the specific purpose of bringing order to the school as a demonstration of her abilities. Others mentioned that Kirkland was just a stepping stone in her career, and that she would not remain at the school very long. And, indeed, she was reassigned at the end of her third year at the school. We can only speculate how such perceptions affected Barnhart's capacity to lead Kirkland's staff. We have mentioned, for example, that some teachers questioned whether Barnhart had any long-range goals for the school. Others did not conform to school policies regarding matters such as the assignment of homework and the submission of lesson plans to evaluators. Such behaviors may have been related to teachers' perceptions of Barnhart's role as principal. Thus, positive relations with the district may have influenced Barnhart's leadership at Kirkland in unexpected ways.

Establishing the Instructional Organization: The second avenue that principals in our study used to achieve their goals was the instructional organization of their schools. Together with establishing a climate that set the conditions for effective teaching and learning, our principals also strove to influence those factors associated with the actual delivery of instruction. The reader will recall from the earlier narrative, however, that in Barnhart's case, her involvement with matters of curriculum, grouping, student assignment to classes, student evaluation, homework, and the like was minimal. Nevertheless, our observational data illustrate that fully 37% of Barnhart's actions were directed at the work structure of her school. How do we explain this disparity?

Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 on pages 90, 91, 92, and 93 illustrate that Kirkland's work structure was a common target of Barnhart's Communicating, Scheduling/Allocating Resources/Organizing, Governing, and Monitoring activities. If one examines carefully, however, the content of her actions in the cells that represent the linkage of these behaviors with the work structure of the school, the picture that is revealed in not one in which the principal attempts to shape or influence teaching and learning but rather one in which the principal acts managerially to keep school operations moving smoothly. Barnhart was closely involved in seeing that day-to-day operations at Kirkland were carried out in compliance with school and district policies and procedures.

If one recalls the conditions that have been described earlier, some reasons for this become clear. When Barnhart arrived at Kirkland, many students did not attend their classes, some teachers did not teach, the secretary directed the administrators, and very little teaching and learning were taking place. Thus, part of the task faced by Barnhart was to change those situations so that the most basic school operations could occur at Kirkland. While the situation showed much improvement after two years of effort, a number of factors continued to impede the direct improvement of instruction at the school. Barnhart perceived fully a third of her faculty as "destroyers" and expressed concern that these individuals "are not going to do anything [no matter what you do]" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 15). Some teachers still saw their students more as challenges to their skills as disciplinarians than to their skills as instructors. Relations between teachers in subject matter departments were not always cordial. In addition, Barnhart's own skills and experience in relation to curriculum and instruction were limited. These circumstances all contributed to the way in which Barnhart's actions relative to the work structure at Kirkland were enacted, which we describe in the remainder of this section.

Most of Barnhart's actions with regard to work structure were directed at individuals and groups other than the teaching staff: administrators, counselors, clerical staff, custodians, campus supervisors, parents, students, district office staff, and others. Of the relatively few actions that did involve Kirkland's classroom teachers, most were not concerned directly with matters of curriculum or instruction. For example, Barnhart's interactions with teachers early in the year were aimed primarily at informing them about policies and procedures regarding matters such as student registration, discipline, report card distribution, room assignments, and the like. When the school was allotted new teaching slots, Barnhart was also involved in decisions about instructional assignments: For example, when a new teacher expressed concern that his assignment included one section of English, which was not his native language, Barnhart told him that she would change the assignment to a more appropriate one.

Barnhart's closest involvement with curriculum and instruction at Kirkland during the year of this study was witnessed in her conference with the ambitious English teacher. In that meeting, Barnhart spent most of the time listening to his ideas for improving the work of that department and then asked several questions of the type that she thought he would face from his colleagues. She did not, however, offer any of her own ideas about what she thought curriculum or instruction should look like. Her main concern was the leadership of the English department: Should she promote this young teacher to chairman? Would the other members of the department accept his leadership?

As was the case with teachers, many of Barnhart's actions toward other staff regarding work structure centered on policies and procedures for keeping Kirkland's daily operations moving smoothly. For example, the principal was actively involved in student registration and class enrollments at the start of the year--assisting directly, providing information, monitoring, and governing when problems arose. We have recounted Barnhart's decision to send some students home when she saw that the school was not prepared that day to process all of the students. And we have described her strategy for enlisting teacher cooperation when it became clear that some classes would be temporarily overenrolled. In both instances, she focused on anticipating needs and addressing them before problems interfered with the workflow.

Numerous other instances from our observations indicated the extent to which Barnhart's daily routines were directed at facilitating the workflow for the school as a whole. In her frequent exchanges with campus supervisors, secretaries, the assistant principals, the Chapter 1 director, and the custodians, Barnhart often answered questions and provided information to support routine operations: attendance, budgeting procedures, agendas and minutes for meetings, routine paperwork and forms, bulletins and memos, and the like. In addition, one of the assistant principals commented that Barnhart took responsibility for many mundane tasks that could have been delegated if more qualified support personnel had been available (I, 10/15/82, p. 2). And Barnhart herself commented on the number of staff who "see me [as] a person who will solve all their problems, no matter how small, how large. . . . I have to answer to a lot of people around here" (TI, 9/10/82, p. 4). Despite her expressed desire to change this situation, our observations indicated that she continued to be involved in the "nuts and bolts" of managing daily operations at the school.

One of Barnhart's infrequent but potent actions for influencing the work structure at Kirkland was her strategy for dealing with staff who consistently failed to meet their responsibilities and who, she believed, was not acting for the good of the school. In these instances she used her authority as an evaluator to monitor and document the behavior of these staff members. Her goal was to build a legal case for securing a transfer of the individual from Kirkland to some other school. Barnhart perceived herself as unusual in her willingness to document staff and considered this a necessary strategy for improving operations at Kirkland.

Barnhart's actions in relation to Kirkland's work structure generated mixed results. Teachers' comments indicated that most believed the principal did not have much influence on their work. While some were disappointed in their principal's lack of involvement, others considered the arrangement to be a satisfactory one. And although Barnhart's leadership at Kirkland had paid off in creating a better environment for teaching and learning, we did not witness any actions on her part to improve instruction despite her avowed aim of raising student test scores.

Conclusion

Our analysis of Florence Barnhart's leadership of Kirkland Junior High School has examined her routine behaviors, connected these to various elements of her organization that she attempted to influence, and discussed the antecedents and consequences of these actions. Our discussion has portrayed the inner-city setting of the school, underscoring some of the challenges presented by that context. We have described the school's clients--its students and their parents--including their needs, concerns, and attitudes. We have written about the staff, especially the teachers, presenting their varied perceptions of their students and colleagues. Our central focus, however, has been Florence Barnhart, who was nominated by her district administrators as a highly successful principal. We have explored her beliefs and experiences, her goals, and her routine actions, searching for an understanding of her role as instructional leader and manager.

Through a careful analysis of hundreds of observations of her activities and of interviews with staff and students, we found linkages between Florence Barnhart's contextual givens and behaviors and the status of the instructional system at Kirkland. Most of her attention and activities were aimed at establishing and maintaining a safe and orderly environment and at improving the school's reputation in the community and district. Although she said she wanted to improve student achievement, her actions during the year of this study continued to focus largely on matters of discipline.

Barnhart's style of leadership combined a generally cordial manner with a no-nonsense approach to accomplish her goals. During her tenure as principal, she was successful in communicating to others that the chaotic conditions she encountered when she first came to Kirkland would no longer be tolerated. As a result of her efforts, the environment at Kirkland was changed from dangerous and disorderly to one in which the work of teaching and learning could take place. Due to a variety of circumstances, however, Barnhart did not move beyond that accomplishment to the next task that she faced, the work of improving student learning. She bequeathed that challenge to her successor when she left Kirkland at the end of her third year to assume leadership of one of the district's large high schools.

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